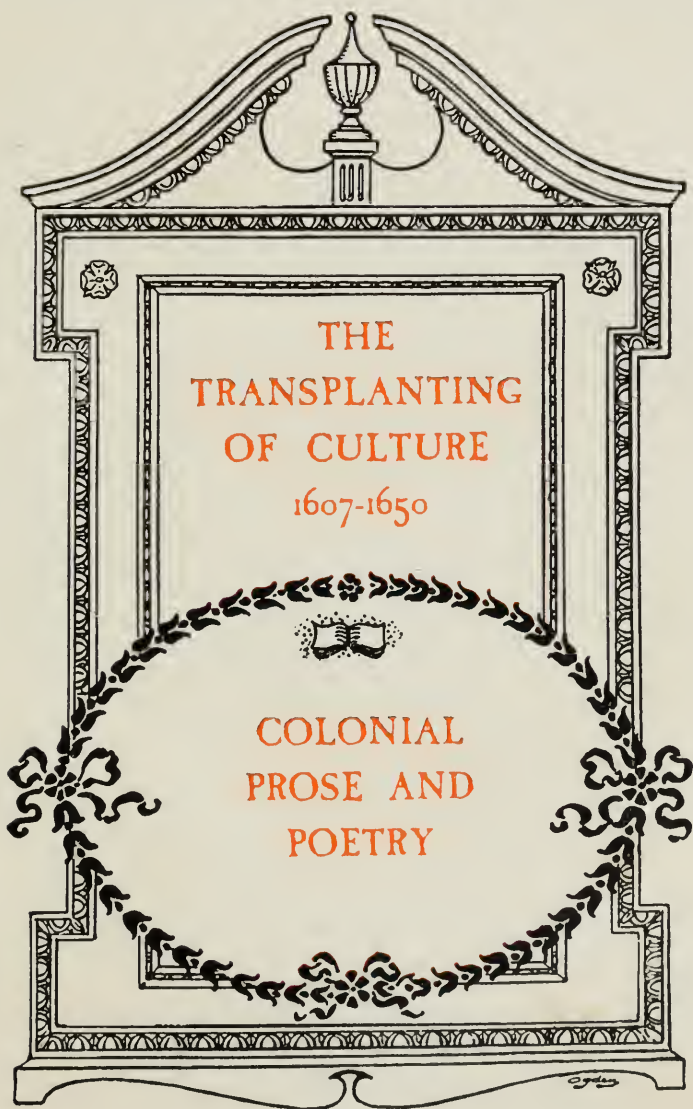


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# Colonial Prose and Poetry

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THE

TRANSPLANTING OF CULTURE

1607-1650

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## PREFACE.

THE present series of volumes illustrating the literature of the American colonies aims especially to show the development of national culture and ideals. Although not eschewing them, it does not deal primarily with political life or with historical interests. It attempts to present mainly in modernized spelling such passages from the works of colonial authors as reveal most of literary art, of individual genius, and of the national mind in the process of its differentiation.

That the survey might be full yet not prolix the selections have often been shortened by the omission of passages that would weary a modern reader, but such omissions have always been indicated, and care has been taken that they should not be of a character to affect the sense of what remains. The literature of any nation in its formative period requires winnowing if it is to attract that same nation in its maturity ; for much is antiquated that is neither significant nor curious. Yet our colonial writers bear comparison with those of any other race under similar conditions. Many who have gone to them with

a smile have remained to be edified. In the earlier period men lived earnestly if not largely, they thought highly if not broadly, they felt nobly if not always with magnanimity. Resourcefulness, self-reliance, individuality, were the virtues fashioned by primitive circumstances, and these asserted themselves in the later period as more enduring elements in the national character than the Cavalier traditions of Virginia or the Puritanism of New England.

It is, then, the gradual transformation of the national literature with the national character that is exhibited in these volumes. Brief accounts are given of each author, and the essays at the beginning of the several volumes endeavor to gather up the characteristics of each period and to draw from them their lessons with regard to national evolution. Where special obligations to books and editors are due, they have been acknowledged in the text; here hearty thanks are tendered to the courteous officials of the library of Columbia University.

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## INTRODUCTION.

OUR colonial literature, covering more than a century and a half, cannot be regarded (even by the charitable) as being of great intrinsic value. The interest that it possesses is political, social, or religious, not literary or imaginative. And yet it gives to the critic of literature an opportunity, such as the beginnings of hardly any other literature afford, to study the effects of environment upon the literary powers and products of a transplanted race.

It is usually held that transplantation to the American wilderness repressed the literary powers of the colonists who were too busy planting corn and repelling Indians to devote much attention to literature. Yet it is to be remembered that the colonists represented stocks that on the whole showed no great literary vitality at home. Except for Milton, Marvell, and a few less important names, Puritanism did extremely little for English poetry, not much for English prose. Nor did the Cavaliers, as a body outside of the court circle, rise in England greatly above the level of Virginia culture. Transplantation, it may be suspected, neither developed nor retarded the production of imaginative literature, but the new environment in New England did have a very considerable effect in directing writers to pietistic and controversial subjects, for religion was the only ideal

element in Puritan life, and the main feature of their relations with the outside world.

During the period covered by this volume there were, as we have just assumed, two centres of influence, Virginia and Massachusetts, Cavalier and Puritan, the former an extension of county England, the latter of English borough life. Or, to use literary symbols and to compare small things with great, the two earliest colonies represented respectively the England of Herrick, Carew, and Lovelace, and the England of Milton, Bunyan, and Baxter. At the very outset we meet with a typical Cavalier, a burly survival of knight-errantry, Captain John Smith, and he, though not strictly speaking an American, is typical of the adventurers, English country gentlemen, younger sons, plain town and country folk, who settled the southern colony. They were uncourtly but yet genuinely aristocratic, and, developing the aristocratic virtues of bravery and lavish hospitality, they formed a sort of feudal nobility whose qualities were accentuated by plantation life and by the absence of metropolitan standards. They brought with them no deep-seated artistic impulses, few inherited literary traditions. They produced little literature and developed little culture. The repression of learning and the printing press was the least of their grievances against Governor Berkeley, even as late as 1676. They lived quite aloof from the political struggles of their time, and were quite untouched by its scientific or artistic achievements.

And if we turn to Massachusetts the case is not much better, though it is different. There was here a nobler purpose. Such leaders as Bradford and

Winthrop do not lack inspiring qualities, nor such figures as those of Captain Standish, the apostolic John Eliot, the tolerant Roger Williams, and the whole intolerant, but pious, learned, and commanding Brahmin caste of Puritan divines, qualities quaintly picturesque and attractive. But, when all is said, the annals of Colonial New England also are sadly wanting in perspective. The sober aristocracy of clergymen and magistrates, the plain democracy of God-fearing farmers, thrifty merchants, hardy fishermen and sailors, have, it is true, an interest for latter-day Americans. Hawthorne has shown how their life lent itself to literary treatment. But they did not discover it. Even though their numerous towns gave them what Virginia lacked, the advantages of social solidarity, they too had no deep-seated artistic impulses and few inherited literary instincts and aspirations. Their thoughts were bent on religion. In this they lived and of this they wrote. But their religion was narrow, individualistic, voicing itself not in a *Divine Comedy*, which they would have rejected, but in a *Day of Doom*, which they took literally to heart. Yet the muses were not without witness in either colony, and, though it is impossible here to describe adequately this exiguous production, it is worth while to remind the reader of its existence, that he may have some conception of the range of those writings whose quality the following pages are to illustrate. And for our purposes it will be most perspicuous to consider first the writers of verse, few of whom yield materials for our use, then the annalists, and finally the theologians.

Such verse writing as there was at first naturally

followed British models, which is one reason for giving it attention before the work that is more directly a product of the new environment and experiences. Most of the annalists lapsed into verse at times, following the distinguished example of John Smith, but none of them, or of the clergy, shows in the first generations anything that springs from the heart of the people, or even any transmutation of alien culture. Individuals write as best they may according to familiar British models, just as most of our poets do to-day. Of this fact our first quasi-American poem, Rich's *Newes from Virginia*, is an illustration. The sojourn in America of this "soldier blunt and plain" was brief, and literary Virginia has no cause to dispute his possession with the mother country; though during the colonial period that colony had little verse that is nameworthy, save the eulogy of Nathaniel Bacon in the "Epitaph made by his Man," probably the only single product of sustained poetic art written in the first century and a half of Colonial America, but by a poet who has left us not even the shadow of his name.

In New England, as might have been expected, the general average of versification was less crude and the versifiers far more numerous, society being more serious-minded and far more scholarly. Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop both wrote occasional verses of ponderous meditation, William Morrell and William Wood composed descriptive verses, as did the anonymous author of *New England's Annoyances*, but these can pass for poetry only by comparison with the superlative crudity of the *Bay Psalm Book*, the first volume printed in British

America. Very little better is the swarm of epitaphs, elegies, and memorial verses, though the divines that made these feeble concessions to despised art were not unable to hold their own with their British brethren. The larger part of this verse is embedded in the prose works, like flies in very cloudy amber, else surely it had never seen even an opaque light. Typical of this constant "dropping into verse" is Nathaniel Ward's *Simple Cobbler*, of which presently.

There is but one person, during the period we are considering, who might have been and is almost a poet, Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, "the tenth Muse lately sprung up in America," as her brother-in-law called her, daughter and wife of Colonial Governors, and not unworthy to have graced a chair in Madeleine de Scudéry's famous Salon of the *Précieuses*, or even in the *Chambre Bleue* of Arthénice, though she was ever a sturdy Puritan, and as one of her admirers said "a right DuBartas girl." Examples of her poetry and an encomium of it will be found elsewhere. We are concerned now to note the instant response of the colonists in their appreciation of the "fair authoress." Their clumsy tributes show a naïve admiration, which suggests that they would have appreciated better poetry, though it is a curious fact that we have no trace of the existence of a copy of Shakespeare in New England during the seventeenth century. Yet she had little rhetorical art, and seems blind to the natural beauty about her. In style, form, and subject she, too, is an echo of Puritan England, though showing in her maturity more of the influence of Spenser than of Sylvester or of Quarles. It is a curious fact

in literary heredity that among Mrs. Bradstreet's descendants are the poets R. H. Dana and Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the orator Wendell Phillips. Her father and sister also wrote verses, and among others who essayed poetry may be named Captain Edward Johnson, John Josselyn, and even Roger Williams. The last estate of poetry in the century was perhaps its most desperate one. Peter Folger in his *Looking Glass for the Times* is absolutely the most garrulously naïve and the most unpoetic of his land and century. His poem is the Ormulum of America and it betters the instruction.

The typical versifier of Puritan New England is doubtless Michael Wigglesworth, and the typical poem the *Day of Doom*, an awful, but to the Puritan mind, congenial theme, in treating which he displayed not a little curious ingenuity. He was the most facile and prolific of what we may call the school of Sternhold and Hopkins. Wigglesworth and Folger are, however, reserved for treatment in our second volume, when we enter upon a new poetic order corresponding to a moral and social change. The religious commonwealth is becoming secular, life is no longer a series of vicissitudes, love of wealth and comfort is beginning to supplant the fear of the Lord. Let us therefore retrace our steps and watch the progress of the same change in those prose annals and tractates in which the sturdy colonists found a more congenial and appropriate form of self-expression.

The first prose efforts of the colonists, whether in New England or Virginia, were naturally confined to sending home news of their doings that might pro-

cure them companions in arms and labors. Here priority in time, and perhaps primacy in interest, belongs to Captain John Smith's *True Relation*, to which indeed American literature can lay but scant claim, any more than to similar writings of Percy, Strachey, Pory, and Whittaker. These told of the first years of struggle. In the fairly prosperous period that followed there was a decided lull in literary activity until a certain Colonel Norwood narrated to Sir William Berkeley his hairbreadth 'scapes on a voyage to Virginia. His story is interesting to us as a witness to the growing suppleness of English prose. Norwood was no artist, but he had at least got rid of much of the cumbrous phraseology of his predecessors. Yet for the moment in Virginia his example availed little. The government was distinctly illiberal, the Governor an obscurantist. "I thank God," he said, "there are no free schools nor printing, and hope we shall not have them this hundred year. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." It is a nemesis of such illiberality that what is best worth reading of the annals of Colonial Virginia in this century should be the narratives of Bacon's rebellion against it.

Meantime Virginia's northern neighbor Maryland had produced the scholarly Latin *Relatio* of the Jesuit White, Hammond's *Leah and Rachel* and George Alsop's quaint *Character of the Province of Maryland*. The latter's prose is better than his "melancholy Muse," who by the way is apt to be a very indecorous person. If we pass from Maryland to

the northern colonies, we find ourselves among a people not literary perhaps, yet intellectual and imaginative, a people who stood for an idea, who felt that they were the vanguard of freedom, religious and civil. That such men would write much and vigorously was a matter of course. It was part of their duty to give an account of themselves before man as well as God, and so their habits, their thoughts, are better known to us than those of any colonists anywhere. All the communities from Maine to Connecticut had common characteristics. The plain people were pious, hardy, thrifty. The Brahmin caste, their spiritual masters, were very learned, their magistrates God-fearing, and all were bound together by religious sympathies, solidified and strengthened by external pressure. In self-justification, in self-defence, as witness to God and man, the clergy, and the magistrates too, plied their pens, and as early as 1639 had provided themselves with a printing press. They cared little for poetry or art. The controversy of God with New England, or of New England with everybody else, was what interested them, whether they were telling their story or preaching their sermon, expounding their creed or illustrating it by their example.

First of the annalists is the dignified, sober, and benign William Bradford of Plymouth, with his co-partner in the *Relation*, Edward Winslow, both capable of a more humane humor than Francis Higginson of Salem, a beautifully pious soul, naïvely credulous. Rather credulous, too, is William Wood, though he was an acute observer, with a faculty of appropriate epithet that marks the progress of prose writ-

ing. Wood is not included in these pages, but room is found for John Underhill, who is worthy of note for his singular faculty of discerning special providences. He yields in this, however, to John Mason, who would perhaps have been surprised to be told that his miracle of the intoxicating bottle had been anticipated by six centuries in the legend of the Irish saint Ludigus. More sober and statesmanlike is the writing of John Winthrop, though he too does not escape superstition; while of wholly different yet not unattractive type is the rough, uncouth partisan Edward Johnson; and in curious contrast to them both is the Mephistophelian Thomas Morton. These were laymen. After the middle of the century the clergy, save for John Josselyn, the judicious Daniel Gookin, and a few others, take the lead both as annalists and as burdeners of the press with their sermons and treatises. Meantime in the Middle Colonies a few chroniclers had arisen, of whom Daniel Denton is here representative. One cannot take leave of these historical writers as a whole without paying tribute, not alone to their piety and learning, where they claimed it, but to their courageous optimism, their general intellectual sanity, their essential manliness. Annalists like these were no bad founders of a national literature.

But when we think of the writing of this period, what rises in the popular mind, and justly, is its theology. Not indeed in the Middle Colonies or in the South, though there were a few noteworthy divines even there, but in New England where a practical theocracy was to be seen in full flower. Easy-going planters might put up with clergymen of no intel-

lectual attainments, even with those whose morals did something smack, but to a theocracy an intelligent priesthood is essential, and there were special reasons in New England that fostered literature in fostering autocracy. An Englishman does not readily submit to superiors, and to assert their dominance the New England clergy must needs be great counsellors, secular and religious, great scholars, preachers, and great private characters. These sturdy Puritans were ultra-Protestants, prone to follow the workings of their own minds. To dominate them the clergy had to be acute logicians and powerful reasoners. Narrow they might be ; but of power, of sheer indomitable force, no body of citizens and no caste have ever been such complete exemplars as the New England Puritans, unless perhaps the Arabs under Mahomet, or the Frenchmen of the early Revolution. Both their isolation and their previous history contributed to the intensity of their convictions. Among these exiles for truth the pastors appear to us as heroes of spiritual combat, praying and preaching for hours together, rebuking the froward, counselling magistrates with authority in their election sermons, moulding youth, as appears in their New England Primer, wrestling with heretics, witches, Satan, and God. These priests appear to us as prophets, as uncrowned kings of the faithful. In their isolation they felt themselves set upon a hill, under obligation to give account for themselves to their English brethren, forced, too, to use every means to maintain their power ; hence, as we have seen, their speedy importation of the printing press, which groaned as an instrument of God's glory with learned sermons, theological and historical

treatises. In those days church, pastor, and sermon took the place of our theatres, newspapers, lectures, novels, and stump-speaking. The meeting-house was the centre of town life, the minister the centre of the church. He was usually a college-bred man, almost always a voluminous writer, and, though no one of them in our period survives outside the anthological limbo, it is surprising to find how many, even of the more obscure, showed imaginative force, ponderous learning, and literary power of no mean order. Measured by literary standards the greatest of them was that stone rejected of the builders, Roger Williams; but our extracts will show that John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, and John Eliot were also able writers of their kind, while surely the most unique scold in our literature is the "Simple Cobbler," Nathaniel Ward. Yet for all their zeal and power they were fighting a losing fight against nature. The spirit rebelled as well as the flesh. The end of the century is filled with lamentations, which already in our period begin to make themselves audible, of a change in the old order. Their vaulting spiritual ambition had defeated itself. But the crisis of that period belongs to a second period, whose early writers, together with several of those here named, to whom the division of our materials makes it expedient to recur, finds place in the second volume.



## CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH was born at Willoughby in Lincolnshire, in January, 1579. He died at London on the 21st of June, 1632. Yet that part of his life to which he owes distinction was passed in America, and it is his account of it that gives him his place here. The son of a tenant farmer, apprenticed to trade at fifteen, he ran away to serve under Lord Willoughby in the Netherlands and afterward in Hungary and Transylvania, against the Turks. He was captured, enslaved, escaped to Russia, returned to England in 1605, and the next year accompanied Newport's expedition to Virginia, apparently not without conflict with the authorities. Their opposition was overcome by his energy in exploration and his success in obtaining supplies. While exploring the James River in 1607, he was captured by Indians, brought before their chief, Powhatan, saved as he claimed from death by the intervention of that "Nunpareil of Virginia," Pocahontas, and sent back to Jamestown after six weeks' captivity. Later he explored the Chesapeake, was for a time Colonial President, returned to England in 1609, and in 1614 explored the coast of New England from Penobscot to Cape Cod. A third expedition in 1616 resulted in his capture by the French. He escaped, but was unable to secure means to prosecute his adventurous explorations. Typical of his

many writings is the first, *A True Relation* (1608), — of little art but abounding life ; clumsy, formless, inartistic, yet interesting. He wrote also *A Map of Virginia* (1612), *A Description of New England* (1616), *New England's Trials* (1620), *The General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles* (1624), and a few less significant works. Modern scholars have been inclined to distrust him as an authority, especially when he describes his own exploits and adventures, but there is reason to believe that this scepticism has been pushed too far. The best edition of his works is that of Edward Arber (1884).

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## POWHATAN'S TREATMENT OF SMITH.

[FROM "A TRUE RELATION OF SUCH OCCURRENCES  
AND ACCIDENTS OF NOTE AS HATH HAPPENED IN  
VIRGINIA ETC." LONDON, 1608.]

ARRIVING at Weramocomoco their Emperor proudly lying upon a bedstead a foot high, upon ten or twelve mats richly hung with many chains of great pearls about his neck, and covered with a great covering of Rahaughcums. At his head sat a woman, at his feet another ; on each side sitting upon a mat upon the ground, were ranged his chief men on each side the fire, ten in a rank and behind them as many young women, each a great chain of white beads over their shoulders, their heads painted in red ; and with such a grave and majes-

tical countenance, as drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked salvage.

He kindly welcomed me with good words, and great platters of sundry victuals, assuring me his friendship, and my liberty within four days. He much delighted in Opechan Comough's relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me upon the same.

He asked me the cause of our coming.

I told him being in fight with the Spaniards, our enemy, being overpowered, near put to retreat, and by extreme weather put to this shore, where landing at Chesipiack, the people shot us, but at Kequough-tan they kindly used us; we by signs demanded fresh water, they described us up the river was all fresh water: at Paspahagh also they kindly used us: our pinnace being leaky, we were enforced to stay to mend her, till Captain Newport, my father, came to conduct us away.

He demanded why we went further with our boat. I told him, in that I would have occasion to talk of the back sea, that on the other side the main where was salt water. My father had a child slain which we supposed Monocan, his enemy [had done]; whose death we intended to revenge.

After good deliberation, he began to describe me the countries beyond the falls, with many of the rest; confirming what not only Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had been prisoner to Powhatan had before told me: but some one called it five days, some six, some eight, where the said water dashed amongst many stones and rocks, each storm; which caused oft times the head of the river to be brackish.

Anchanachuck he described to be the people that had slain my brother : whose death he would revenge. He described also upon the same sea, a mighty nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce nation that did eat men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer and Pataromerke, nations upon the top of the head of the Bay, under his territories : where the year before they had slain an hundred. He signified their crowns were shaven, long hair in the neck, tied on a knot, swords like pollaxes.

Beyond them, he described people with short coats, and sleeves to the elbows, that passed that way in ships like ours. Many kingdoms he described me, to the head of the bay, which seemed to be a mighty river issuing from mighty mountains betwixt the two seas : The people clothed at Ocamahowan, he also confirmed. And the southerly countries also, as the rest that reported us to be within a day and a half of Mangoge, two days of Chawwonock, six from Roonock, to the south part of the back sea. He described a country called Anone, where they have abundance of brass, and houses walled as ours.

I requited his discourse (seeing what pride he had in his great and spacious dominions, seeing that all he knew were under his territories) in describing to him the territories of Europe, which was subject to our great king whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gave him to understand the noise of trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting [which] were under Captain Newport my father : whom I intituled the Meworames, which they call the king of all the waters. At his greatness he

admired : and not a little feared. He desired me to forsake Paspahegh, and to live with him upon his river, a country called Capa Howasicke. He promised to give me corn, venison, or what I wanted to feed us : Hatchets and copper we should make him, and none should disturb us.

## REQUISITES OF COLONIAL MANAGEMENT.

[FROM "A DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND," ETC.  
LONDON, 1616.]

BUT it is not a work for every one, to manage such an affair as makes a discovery, and plants a colony. It requires all the best parts of art, judgment, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to do but near well. Some are more proper for one thing than another ; and therein are to be employed : and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misemploying men in their undertakings. Columbus, Cortez, Pitzara, Soto, Magellanes, and the rest served more than apprenticeship to learn how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies : which to the wonder of all ages successfully they effected, when many hundreds of others, far above them in the world's opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtless in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and courageous. I say not this to detract anything from their incomparable merits, — but to answer those

questionless questions that keep us back from imitating the worthiness of their brave spirits that advanced themselves from poor soldiers, to great captains, their posterity to great lords, their king to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labors, his greatest glory, power, and renown.

## GLORIOUS PAINS *vs.* INGLORIOUS EASE.

[FROM THE SAME.]

WHO can desire more content, that hath small means; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, than to tread, and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant, than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth, by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in Religion, what can he do less hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ, and humanity, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and pains? What so truly suits with honor and honesty, as the discovering things unknown? erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and gain to our native mother-country a kingdom to attend her; find employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to do: so far from wronging any, as to

cause posterity to remember thee ; and remembring thee, ever honor that remembrance with praise ? Consider : What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians, and Romans, but this one rule ; What was it they would not do, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-city ? For example : Rome, What made her such a Monarchess, but only the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home ; but in dangers abroad ? and the justice and judgment out of their experience, when they grew aged. What was their ruin and hurt, but this ; The excess of idleness, the fondness of parents, the want of experience in magistrates, the admiration of their undeserved honors, the contempt of true merit, their unjust jealousies, their politic incredulities, their hypocritical seeming goodness, and their deeds of secret lewdness ? finally, in fine, growing only formal temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few days. Those by their pains and virtues became lords of the world ; they by their ease and vices became slaves to their servants. This is the difference betwixt the use of arms in the field, and on the monuments of stones ; the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, justice and corruption, substance and shadows, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making commonwealths and marring commonwealths, the fruits of virtue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would live at home idly (or think in himself any worth to live) only to eat, drink, and sleep, and so die ? Or by consuming that

carelessly, his friends got worthily? Or by using that miserably, that maintained virtue honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vain vaunt of great kindred, in penury? Or (to maintain a silly show of bravery) toil out thy heart, soul, and time, basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating news of others actions, shark here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceive thy friends, by fair promises, and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never intendest to pay; offend the laws, surfeit with excess, burden thy country, abuse thyself, despair in want, and then cozen thy kindred, yea even thine own brother, and wish thy parents' death (I will not say damnation) to have their estates? though thou seest what honors, and rewards, the world yet hath for them will seek them and worthily deserve them.

I would be sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are grown to that dotage, through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life.

And what hellish care do such take to make it their own misery, and their country's spoil, especially when there is most need of their employment? drawing by all manner of inventions, from the Prince and his honest subjects, even the vital spirits of their powers and estates: as if their bags, or brags, were so powerful a defence, the malicious could not assault them: when they are the only bait, to cause us not to be only assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our own security, ere we well perceive it.

## COLONIAL OPPORTUNITIES.

[FROM THE SAME.]

AND lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labor and diligence, I assure my self there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England, to enjoy it, than I should do here to gain wealth sufficient : and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content : for, our pleasure here is still gains ; in England charges and loss. Here nature and liberty affords us that freely, which in England we want, or it costeth us dearly. What pleasure can be more, than (being tired with any occasion a-shore in planting vines, fruits, or herbs, in contriving their own grounds, to the pleasure of their own minds, their fields, gardens, orchards, buildings, ships, and other works, &c.) to recreate themselves before their own doors, in their own boats upon the sea, where man, woman and child, with a small hook and line, by angling, may take diverse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures ? And is it not pretty sport, to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence, as fast as you can hale and veer a line ? He is a very bad fisher, cannot kill in one day with his hook and line, one, two, or three hundred cods : which dressed and dried, if they be sold there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will give more than twenty ; may not both the servant, the master, and merchant, be well content with this gain ? If

a man work but three days in seven, he may get more then he can spend, unless he be excessive. Now that carpenter, mason, gardiner, tailor, smith, sailer, forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an hour in a day, to take more than they eat in a week : or ? if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choice ; yet sell it, or change it, with the fishermen, or merchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yield a more pleasing content, and less hurt or charge than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea ? Wherein the most curious may find pleasure, profit, and content.

Thus, though all men be not fishers : yet all men whatsoever, may in other matters do as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a commonwealth, and each in their several functions, as their labors in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutual use of all.

For gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them, than ranging daily those unknown parts, using fowling and fishing, for hunting and hawking ? and yet you shall see the wild hawks give you some pleasure, in seeing them stoop (six or seven after one another) an hour or two together at the schools of fish in the fair harbors, as those ashore at a fowl : and never trouble nor torment yourselves, with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them : nor kill horse and man with running and crying. See you not a hawk ? For hunting also : the woods, lakes, and rivers afford not only chase sufficient, for any that delights in that kind of toil, or pleasure : but such

beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompense thy daily labor, with a captain's pay.

For laborers, if those that sow hemp, rape, turnips, parsnips, carrots, cabbage, and such like : give 20, 30, 40, 50, shillings yearly for an acre of ground, and meat, drink, and wages to use it, and yet grow rich : when better or at least as good ground, may be had, and cost nothing but labor : it seems strange to me, any such should there grow poor.

My purpose is not to persuade children from their parents : men from their wives : nor servants from their masters : only, such as with free consent may be spared : but that each parish, or village, in city or country, that will but apparel their fatherless children of thirteen or fourteen years of age, or young married people, that have small wealth to live on : here by their labor may live exceeding well : provided always that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, means to defend them, and meet provisions for them : for any place may be overlain : and it is most necessary to have a fortress (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, carpenters, masons, fishers, fowlers, gardeners, husbandmen, sawers, smiths, spinsters, tailors, weavers, and such like) to take ten, twelve, or twenty, or as there is occasion, for apprentice. The masters by this may quickly grow rich : these may learn their trades themselves, to do the like : to a general and an incredible benefit for king, and country, masters, and servant.

THE POCAHONTAS INCIDENT — THE  
LATER VERSION OF POWHATAN'S  
TREATMENT OF SMITH.

[FROM THE "GENERAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA," ETC.  
(1624), LIB. III.]

OPITCHAPAM the King's brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, fowl, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him welcome ; but not any of them would eat a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in baskets.

At his returne to Opechancanough's all the King's women and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by custom, to be merry with such fragments.

But his waking mind in hideous dreams did oft see wondrous  
shapes  
Of bodies strange and huge in growth, and of stupendous makes.

At last they brought him to Werowocomoco, where was Powhatan their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster ; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of raccoon skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red ; many of their heads be-

decked with the white down of birds ; but every one with something : and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them. Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan : then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beat out his brains, Pocahontas the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save his from death : whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper ; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the King himself will make his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, pots ; plant, hunt, or do any thing so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant show,  
But sure his heart was sad.  
For who can pleasant be, and rest,  
That lives in fear and dread :  
And having life suspected, doth  
It still suspected lead.

Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearfulest manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be

left alone. Not long after from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noise he ever heard : then Powhatan more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more as black as himself, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the County of Capahowosick, and for ever esteem him as his son Nantaquoud.

So to Jamestown with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every hour to be put to one death or other for all their feasting. But almighty God by his divine providence, had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demi-culverins and a millstone to carry Powhatan : they found them somewhat too heavy ; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, the ice and branches came so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some confidence with them, and gave them such toys : and sent to Powhatan his women, and children such presents, as gave them in general full content.

## THE CAPTURE OF POCAHONTAS.

[FROM THE SAME, LIB. IV.]

BUT to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captain Argall having entered into a great acquaintance with Japazaws, an old friend of Captain Smith's, and so to all our nation, ever since he discovered the Country : hard by him there was Pocahontas, whom Captain Smith's Relations intituleth the Numparell of Virginia, and though she had been many times a preserver of him and the whole colony, yet till this accident she was never seen at Jamestown since his departure.

Being at Patawomeke, as it seems, thinking her self unknown, was easily by her friend Japazaws persuaded to go abroad with him and his wife to see the ship, for Captaine Argall had promised him a copper kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keep her till they could conclude a peace with her father. The savage for this copper kettle would have done any thing, it seemed by the Relation.

For though she had seen and been in many ships, yet he caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, and that he offered to beat her for her importunity, till she wept. But at last he told her, if Pocahontas would go with her, he was content : and thus they betrayed the poor innocent Pocahontas aboard, where they were all kindly feasted in the cabin. Japazaws treading oft on the Captain's foot, to remember he had done his part, the Captain

when he saw his time, persuaded Pocahontas to the gun-room, faining to have some conference with Japazaws, which was only that she should not perceive he was any way guilty of her captivity : so sending for her again, he told her before her friends, she must go with him, and compound peace betwixt her country and us, before she ever should see Powhatan, whereat the old Jew and his wife began to howl and cry as fast as Pocahontas, that upon the Captain's fair persuasions, by degrees pacifying her self, and Japazaws and his wife, with the kettle and other toys, went merrily on shore, and she to Jamestown.

A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter Pocahontas he loved so dearly, he must ransom with our men, swords, pieces, tools, &c., he treacherously had stolen.

This unwelcome news much troubled Powhatan, because he loved both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three months after ere he returned us any answer : then by the persuasion of the Council, he returned seven of our men, with each of them an unserviceable musket, and sent us word, that when we would deliver his daughter, he would make us satisfaction for all injuries done us, and give us five hundred bushels of corn, and forever be friends with us.

That he sent, we received in part of payment, and returned him this answer : — That his daughter should be well used, but we could not believe the rest of our arms were either lost or stolen from him, and therefore till he sent them, we would keep his daughter.

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him a long time after, when with Captain Argall's ship and some other vessels belonging to the Colony, Sir Thomas Dale, with a hundred and fifty men well appointed, went up into his own River, to his chief habitation, with his daughter.

With many scornful bravados they affronted us, proudly demanding why we came thither ; our reply was, we had brought his daughter, and to receive the ransom for her that was promised, or to have it perforce.

They nothing dismayed thereat, told us, We were welcome if we came to fight, for they were provided for us, but advised us, if we loved our lives to retire ; else they would use us as they had done Captain Ratcliffe. We told them, we would presently have a better answer ; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let fly their Arrows among us in the ship.

Being thus justly provoked, we presently manned our boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could find ; and so the next day proceeded higher up the river, where they demanded why we burnt their houses, and we, why they shot at us : They replied it was some straggling savage, with many other excuses ; they intended no hurt, but were our friends. We told them, we came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also.

Upon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to Powhatan, whose answer, they told us, we must expect four and twenty hours ere the messengers could return : . . .

Then they told us, our men were run away for fear we would hang them, yet Powhatan's men were run after them : as for our swords and pieces, they should be brought us the next day, which was only but to delay time : for the next day they came not.

Then we went higher, to a house of Powhatan's, called Machot, where we saw about four hundred men well appointed : here they dared us to come on shore which we did : no show of fear they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly up and down amongst us, demanded to confer with our captain, of his coming in that manner, and to have truce till they could but once more send to their king to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectations, then they would fight with us, and defend their own as they could. Which was but only to defer the time, to carry away their provisions : yet we promised them truce till the next day at noon, and then if they would fight with us, they should know when we would begin by our drums and trumpets.

Upon this promise two of Powhatan's sons came unto us to see their sister, at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrary, they much rejoiced, promising they would persuade her father to redeem her, and forever be friends with us. And upon this the two brethren went aboard with us, and we sent Master John Rolfe and Master Sparkes to Powhatan, to acquaint him with the business; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the presence of Powhatan, but they spoke with Opechancanough, his brother and successor ;

he promised to do the best he could to Powhatan, all might be well.

So it being April and time to prepare our ground and set our corn, we returned to Jamestown, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next harvest.

Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest gentleman, and of good behaviour, had been in love with Pocahontas, and she with him, which thing at that instant I made known to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, wherein he entreated his advice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approved. The bruit of this mariage came soon to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten days he sent Opachisco, an old uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to do in that behalf what they requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputy ; which was accordingly done about the first of April. And ever since we have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himself, as all his subjects.

## THE FATE OF POCAHONTAS.

[FROM THE SAME, LIB. IV.]

DURING this time the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master John Rolfe her husband and his friends, was

taught to speak such English as might well be understood, well instructed in Christianity, and was become very formal and civil after our English manner ; she had also by him a child which she loved most dearly and the Treasurer and Company took order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were divers persons of great rank and quality had been very kind to her ; and before she arrived at London, Captain Smith to deserve her former courtesies, made her qualities known to the Queen's most excellent Majesty and her Court, and writ a little book to this effect to the Queen. . . .

Being about this time preparing to set sail for New England, I could not stay to do her that service I desired, and she well deserved ; but hearing she was at Bradford with divers of my friends, I went to see her, after a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well content ; and in that humor her husband, with diverse others, we all left her two or three hours, repenting myself to have writ she could speak English, but not long after she began to talk and remembered me well what courtesies she had done: saying,

You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you : you called him father being in this land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you ; which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter with a well set countenance she said,

Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and caused fear in him and all his people (but me) and fear you here I should call you father : I

tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth: yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seek you, and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much.

This savage, one of Powhatan's council, being amongst them held an understanding fellow; the king purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and inform him well what we were and our state. Arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, he got a long stick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see, but he was quickly weary of that task.

Coming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to hear and see his behavior, he told me

Powhatan did bid him to find me out, to show him our God, the King, Queen, and Prince, I so much had told them of.

Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seen, and the rest he should see when he would: he denied ever to have seen the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: then he replied very sadly,

You gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himself: but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog.

The small time I stayed in London, divers courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with me to see her, that generally concluded, they did think God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned,

and behaved ; and as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and Queen's majesty honorably to esteem her, accompanied with that honorable lady the Lady De la Ware, and that honorable lord her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publicly at the masks and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtless she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in Virginia.

## COLONEL NORWOOD.

OF the author of "A Voyage to Virginia" very little is known save that, as his narrative tells us, he was a kinsman to that picturesque Governor of Colonial Virginia, Sir William Berkeley. His voyage was made in 1649, and the adventures that he describes were doubtless common to many of his fellow gentlemen adventurers. The work is peculiarly interesting to us for its style. The narratives of his predecessors had their intrinsic interest, but they told their stories in cumbrous phraseology. Here the narrative is relatively straightforward and clear, though it is evident that Cowley and Dryden had still their task before them to make English prose a worthy means of artistic literary expression. The Colonel has considerable power of conveying the thrill of adventure. There is a pathos, too, in his story of the kindness that he met with from the poor Indian fisherman, and perhaps there is a touch of humor in that story (not given here) of the Portuguese lady who blushed with happiness at the rough ship's company's praise of her little son, whose features, full of sweetness, reminded them, they said, of their exiled king, Charles II. For a few other facts about Henry Norwood see Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*.

## INDIAN HOSPITALITY.

[FROM "A VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA." — PRINTED  
IN FORCE'S TRACTS. VOL. III.]

OUR kind entertainment in the house of this poor fisherman, had so many circumstances of hearty compassion and tenderness in every part of it, that as it ought to be a perpetual motive to engage all of us who enjoyed the benefit of it, to a daily acknowledgement of the Almighty's goodness for conducting us in this manner by his immediate hand, out of our afflictions, so may it ever be looked upon as a just reproach to Christians, who, on all our sea-coasts, are so far from affording succour to those who, by shipwreck and misfortunes of the sea, do fall into their power, that they treat with all inhuman savage barbarity, those unhappy souls whom God hath thus afflicted, seizing on their goods as their proper perquisites, which the waves of the sea (by divine providence) would cast upon the shore for the true proprietors ; and many times dispatching them out of the world to silence complaints, and to prevent all after-reckonings. And the better to intitle themselves to what they get in this way of rapine, they wickedly call such devilish acquests by the sacred name of God's good, prophaning and blaspheming at the same time that holy name, as they violate all the laws of hospitality and human society. Whereas, on the contrary, our charitable host, influenced only by natural law, without the least shew of coveting any thing we had, or prospect of requital in the

future, did not only treat in this manner our persons, but did also, with as much honesty, secure for us our small stores of guns, powder, &c., as if he had read and understood the duty of the gospel, or had given his only child as a hostage to secure his dealing justly with us ; so that I can never sufficiently applaud the humanity of this Indian, nor express the high contentment that I enjoyed in this poor man's cottage, which was made of nothing but mat and reeds, and bark of trees fixed to poles. It had a loveliness and symmetry in the air of it, so pleasing to the eye, and refreshing to the mind, that neither the splendor of the Escorial nor the glorious appearance of Versailles were able to stand in competition with it. We had a boiled swan for supper, which gave plentiful repasts to all our upper mess.

Our bodies thus refreshed with meat and sleep, comforted with fires, and secured from all the changes and inclemencies of that sharp piercing cold season, we thought the morning (tho' clad in sunshine) did come too fast upon us. Breakfast was liberally provided and set before us, our arms faithfully delivered up to my order for carriage ; and thus in readiness to set forward, we put ourselves in a posture to proceed to the place where the king resided. The woman left behind at the island, had been well looked to, and was now brought off to the care of her comrade that came with us ; neither of them in a condition to take a journey, but they were carefully attended and nourished in this poor man's house, till such time as boats came to fetch them to Virginia, where they did soon arrive in perfect health, and lived (one or both of them) to be well married, and

to bear children, and to subsist in as plentiful a condition as they could wish.

In beginning our journey thro' the woods, we had not advanced half a mile till we heard a great noise of men's voices, directed to meet and stop our further passage. These were several Indians sent by the king to order us back to our quarters. Major Stephens (not cured of his jealous humour by the experience of what he felt the night before) took this alarm in a very bad sense, and as much different from the rest of the company as in his former fit. He was again deluded with a strong fancy, that these violent motions in the Indians who approached us, were the effect of some sudden change in their counsels to our detriment, and that nothing less than our perdition could be the consequence thereof, which he feared would immediately be put in practice by the clamorous men that made such haste to meet us, and (as he would apprehend) to kill and destroy us.

This passion of Major Stephens, cast in the same mould with that other he discovered in the island, had not (as we all thought and told him) whereon to raise the least foundation of terror to affright a child; for besides the earnest we had received of their good intentions the night before, these men who came so fast upon us, were all unarmed; nor was it likely, that king would now possibly imbrew his hands in our blood, and provoke he knew not how powerful a nation to destroy him, after such kind caresses, and voluntary expressions of a temper very contrary to such cruelty. In fine, we saw no cause in all the carriage of the Indians on which I could ground any fear, and therefore I longed with all

impatience to see this king, and to enjoy the plenty of his table, as we quickly did.

When these Indians came up to us, this doubt was soon cleared. The good-natured king being informed of our bodily weakness, and inability to walk thro' the woods to his house on foot (which might be about four miles distant from our setting out) had a real tenderness for us, and sent canoes to carry us to the place nearest his house, by the favour of another branch of the same creek ; and to the end we might take no vain steps (as we were going to do) and exhaust our strength to no purpose, these Indians made this noise to stop us.

We entered the canoes that were manned, and lay ready to receive us. We had a pleasant passage in the shallow water, eat oysters all the way : for altho' the breakfast we had newly made, might well excuse a longer abstinence than we were like to be put to, our arrear to our stomachs was so great, that all we swallowed was soon concocted, and our appetite still fresh and craving more.

Having passed this new course for some three English miles in another branch of the creek, our landing place was contrived to be near the house of the queen then in waiting. She was a very plain lady to see to, not young, nor yet ill-favoured. Her complexion was of a sad white : but the measures of beauty in those parts where they are exposed to the scorching sun from their infancy, are not taken from red and white, but from colours that will better lie upon their tawny skins, as hereafter will be seen.

The beauty of this queen's mind (which is more permanent than that of color) was conspicuous in

her charity and generosity to us poor starved weather-beaten creatures, who were the object of it. A mat was spread without the house, upon the ground, furnished with pone, hominy, oysters, and other things. The queen made us sit down and eat, with gestures that shewed more of courtesy than majesty, but did speak as hearty welcome as could in silence be expected : and these were the graces that, in our opinion, transcended all other beauties in the world, and did abundantly supply all defects of outward appearance in the person and garb of the queen. The southerly wind made the season tolerable ; but that lasted but little, the north-west gale coming violently on us again.

When this collation of the queen was at an end, we took leave of her majesty with all the shews of gratitude that silence knew how to utter. We were now within half an hour's walk of the king's mansion, which we soon discovered by the smoke, and saw it was made of the same stuff with the other houses from which we had newly parted, namely, of mat and reed. Locust posts sunk in the ground at corners and partitions, was the strength of the whole fabric. The roof was tied fast to the body with a sort of strong rushes that grow there, which supplied the place of nails and pins, mortises and tenants.

The breadth of this palace was about eighteen or twenty foot, the length about twenty yards. The only furniture was several platforms for lodging, each about two yards long and more, placed on both sides of the house, distant from each other about five foot ; the space in the middle was the chimney, which had a hole in the roof over it, to receive as much of

the smoke as would naturally repair to it ; the rest we shared amongst us, which was the greatest part ; and the sitters divided to each side, as our soldiers do in their *corps de garde*.

Fourteen great fires, thus situated, were burning all at once. The king's apartment had a distinction from the rest ; it was twice as long, and the bank he sat on was adorned with deer skins finely dressed, and the best furs of otter and beaver that the country did produce.

The fire assigned to us was suitable to our number, to which we were conducted, without intermixture of any Indian but such as came to do us offices of friendship. There we were permitted to take our rest until the king pleased to enter into communication with us. Previous to which he sent his daughter, a well-favored young girl of about ten or twelve years old, with a great wooden bowl full of hominy (which is the corn of that country, beat and boiled to mash). She did in a most obliging manner give me the first taste of it, which I would have handed to my next neighbor after I had eaten, but the young princess interposed her hand, and taking the bowl out of mine, delivered it to the same party I aimed to give it, and so to all the rest in order. Instead of a spoon there was a well-shaped muscle-shell that accompanied the bowl.

The linen of that country grows ready made on the branches of oak trees (or pine) ; the English call it moss. It is like the threads of unwhited cotton-yarn ravelled, and hangs in parcels on the lower boughs, divine providence having so ordered it for the conveniency and sustenance of the deer, which is

all the food they can get in times of snow. It is very soft, sweet and cleanly, and fit for the purpose of wiping clean the hands, and doing the duty of napkins.

About three hours after this meal was ended, the king sent to have me come to him. He called me *Ny a Mutt* which is to say, My brother, and compelled me to sit down on the same bank with himself, which I had reason to look upon as a mighty favor. After I had sat there about half an hour, and taken notice of many earnest discourses and repartees betwixt the king and his *crotemen* (so the Indians call the king's council) I could plainly discover, that the debate they held was concerning our adventure and coming there. To make it more clear, the king addressed himself to me with many gestures of his body, his arms displayed in various postures, to explain what he had in his mind to utter for my better understanding. By all which motions I was not edified in the least, nor could imagine what return to make by voice or sign, to satisfy the king's demands in any thing that related to the present straights of our condition. In fine, I admired their patient sufferance of my dulness to comprehend what they meant, and shewed myself to be troubled at it ; which being perceived by the king, he turned all into mirth and jollity, and never left till he made me laugh with him, tho' I knew not why.

I took that occasion to present the king with a sword and long shoulder-belt, which he received very kindly ; and to witness his gracious acceptance, he threw off his *Mach coat* (or upper covering of skin), stood upright on his bank, and, with

my aid, did accoutre his naked body with his new harness, which had no other apparel to adorn it, besides a few skins about his loins to cover his nakedness. In this dress he seemed to be much delighted; but to me he appeared a figure of such extraordinary shape, with sword and belt to set it off, that he needed now no other art to stir me up to laughter and mirth, than the sight of his own proper person.

Having made this short acquaintance with the king, I took leave, and returned to my comrades. In passing the spaces betwixt fire and fire, one space amongst the rest was blinded with a traverse of mat; and by the noise I heard from thence, like the beating of hemp, I took it to be some kind of elaboratory. To satisfy a curiosity I had to be more particularly informed, I edged close to the mat; and, by standing on tiptoe for a full discovery, I saw a sight that gave me no small trouble. The same specifical queen (whose courtesy for our kind usage the other day, can never be enough applauded) was now employed in the hard servile labour of beating corn for the king's dinner, which raised the noise that made me thus inquisitive. I wished myself in her place for her ease: but the queens of that country do esteem it a privilege to serve their husbands in all kinds of cookery, which they would be as loth to lose, as any Christian queen would be to take it from them.

Several Indians of the first rank followed me to our quarters, and used their best endeavors to sift something from us that might give them light into knowing what we were. They sought many ways

to make their thoughts intelligible to us, but still we parted without knowing what to fix upon, or how to steer our course in advance of our way to Virginia.

## AN INDIAN PRINCESS.

[FROM THE SAME.]

To the young princess, that had so signally obliged me, I presented a piece of two-penny scarlet ribbon, and a French tweezer, that I had in my pocket, which made her skip for joy, and to shew how little she fancied our way of carrying them concealed, she retired apart for some time, and taking out every individual piece of which it was furnished, she tied a snip of ribbon to each, and so came back with scissors, knives and bodkins hanging at her ears, neck and hair. The case itself was not excused, but bore a part in this new dress : and to the end we might not part without leaving deep impressions of her beauty in our minds, she had prepared on her forefingers, a lick of paint on each, the colors (to my best remembrance) green and yellow, which at one motion she discharged on her face, beginning upon her temples, and continuing it in an oval line downwards as far as it would hold out. I could have wished this young princess would have contented herself with what nature had done for her, without this addition of paint (which, I thought, made her more fulsome than handsome) ; but I had reason to imagine the royal family were only to use

this ornament exclusive of all others, for that I saw none other of her sex so set off; and this conceit made it turn again, and appear lovely, as all things should do that are honored with the royal stamp.

## WILLIAM BRADFORD.

WILLIAM BRADFORD was born at Austerfield in Yorkshire in March of 1588, and died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the 9th of May, 1657. Born a yeoman freeholder of Yorkshire, of native seriousness and inclined to religion, he joined the Puritans at eighteen, and at twenty emigrated to Holland, where he was prominent in urging the emigration of his co-religionists to some English colony. With a hundred like-minded men, the future Pilgrim Fathers, he embarked at Southampton for Virginia, in September of 1620, and on the death of Governor Carver, a few months after the landing at Plymouth, was chosen governor of the Colony, a post which he held, with brief intermissions, till his death. In his writings he tells the story of the planting of Plymouth, to which his diplomacy, energy, and firmness contributed essentially. The account of the events of the first year, known through a mistake as "Mourt's Relation," to which his fellow-Pilgrim, Edward Winslow, also contributed, was alone published during his lifetime (1622). Much more important is his History of Plymouth Plantation from 1620 to 1647, a manuscript of 270 pages that, for many years before the Revolutionary War, was preserved in the Old South Church, Boston. During that troubled time it disappeared and was lost to scholars until the use

of it, made in Samuel Wilberforce's History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America revealed its presence at Fulham Palace, London, to the American antiquarian Samuel Drake. The clew thus obtained was followed up, the manuscript proved indeed to be Bradford's own, the Bishop of London gave permission to copy and print, and in 1856 the long-standing gap in our early literature was filled under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Forty-two years later the manuscript itself was transferred to America by the courtesy of the Bishop of London and is now in the State House at Boston. A new edition and a zincograph facsimile was issued by the State to commemorate this event. Bradford's other writings are contained, for the greater part, in Alexander Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers (1841-1846). Like the man, his chief work is characterized by dignity, sobriety, benignity, and piety. Bradford was a statesman and a scholar, a man of some literary ability and of historical acumen, but above all he was a man of balanced mind, of that type of which Washington and Alfred the Great are the noblest exemplars. He was well qualified to guide the infant Colony in laying its sure foundations, well qualified too to write of the task at which he labored. He was a conscientious historian, using in the main a straightforward, simple style; yet not infrequently the spiritual emotion, never long absent from a true Puritan, overmasters him and informs his pages with pathos and dignity.

## DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS (1620).

[FROM THE HISTORY "OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION," BOOK I.]

## THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

*Of their departure from Leyden, and other things there about, with their arrival at Southampton, where they all met together, and took in their provisions.*

At length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship<sup>1</sup> was bought and fitted in Holland which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country, and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9. score; and all other things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8. 21. *And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town

<sup>1</sup> Of some sixty tons.

sundry miles off called Delfes Haven, where the ships lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting place, near 12 years ; but they knew they were pilgrims<sup>1</sup> and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready. And such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair they went aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting ; To see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did rush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart ; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfained love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees (and they all with him,) with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another ; which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

<sup>1</sup> Heb. II.

Thus hoisting sail,<sup>1</sup> with a prosperous wind they came in short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready with all the rest of their company. After a joyful welcome, and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments, they fell to parley about their business, how to dispatch with the best expedition ; as also with their agents, about the alteration of the conditions. Mr. Carver pleaded he was employed here at Hampton and knew not well what the other had done at London. Mr. Cushman answered, he had done nothing but what he was urged to partly by the grounds of equity and more especially by necessity, otherwise all had been dashed and many undone. And in the beginning he acquainted his fellow agents herewith, who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute, and to receive the money at London, and send it down to them at Hampton, where they made the provisions ; the which he accordingly did, though it was against his mind, and some of the merchants, that they were there made. And for giving them notice at Leyden of this change, he could not well in regard of the shortness of the time ; again, he knew it would trouble them and hinder the business, which was already delayed overlong in regard of the season of the year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not content at present. Mr. Weston, likewise, came up from London to see them dispatched and to have the conditions confirmed ; but they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to the

<sup>1</sup> This was about 22 of July.

first agreement, neither could they yield to them without the consent of the rest that were behind and indeed they had special charge when they came away, from the chief of those that were behind, not to do it. At which he was much offended, and told them, they must then look to stand on their own legs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was the first ground of discontent between them. And whereas there wanted well near £100 to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penny, but let them shift as they could. So they were forced to sell off some of their provisions to stop this gap which was some 3. or 4. score firkins of butter, which commodity they might best spare, having provided too large a quantity of that kind.

## THE COMPACT.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

### THE 2 BOOKE.

THE rest of this History (if God gives me life, and opportunity) I shall, for brevity's sake, handle by way of *Annals*, noting only the heads of principal things, and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seem to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be as the second Book.

*The Remainder of Anno: 1620.*

I shall a little return back and begin with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being the first foundation of their government in this place ;

occasioned partly by the discontented mutinous and speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship — That when they came ashore they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do. And partly that such an act by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The form was as followeth.<sup>1</sup>

IN y<sup>e</sup> name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soueraigne Lord, King James, by y<sup>e</sup> grace of God, of great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of y<sup>e</sup> faith, &c.

Haueing vndertaken, for y<sup>e</sup> glorie of God, and advancemente of y<sup>e</sup> christian faith and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y<sup>e</sup> first colonie in y<sup>e</sup> Northene parts of Virginia. Doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in y<sup>e</sup> presence of God, and one of another, couenant, & combine our selues together into a Ciuill body politick, for our better ordering, & preservation & furtherance of y<sup>e</sup> ends aforesaid; and by Vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame, such just & equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & conuenient for y<sup>e</sup> generall good of y<sup>e</sup> Colonie, vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we haue herevnder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd y<sup>e</sup>. 11.

<sup>1</sup> In the original orthography.

of Nouember, in y<sup>e</sup> year of y<sup>e</sup> raigne of our souer-  
aigne Lord, King Iames, of England, France, & Ireland  
y<sup>e</sup> eighteenth, and of Scotland y<sup>e</sup> fiftie fourth. An<sup>o</sup>:  
Dom. 1620.

EARLY DIFFICULTIES OF THE PILGRIM  
FATHERS (1620).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

IN these hard and difficult beginnings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriages in other ; but they were soon quelled, and overcome, by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things, by the Governor and better part which clave faithfully together in the main. But that which was most sad, and lamentable, was, that in two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts ; being infected with scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their inaccommodate condition had brought upon them ; so as there died sometimes two or three of a day, in the foresaid time ; that of one hundred and odd persons scarce fifty remained : and of these in the time of most distress there was but six or seven sound persons ; who to their great commendations, be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them ; in a word did all the homely, and necessary offices for them, which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love

unto their friends and brethren ; a rare example and worthy to be remembered. Two of these seven were Mr. William Brewster their reverend Elder, and Myles Standish their Captain and military commander (unto whom myself, and many others were much beholden in our low, and sick condition) and yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this general calamity they were not at all infected either with sickness, or lameness. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who died in this general visitation and others yet living ; that whilst they had health, yea or any strength continuing they were not wanting to any that had need of them ; and I doubt not but their recompense is with the Lord.

But I may not here pass by another remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamity fell among the passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted ashore and made to drink water, that the seamen might have the more beer, and one<sup>1</sup> in his sickness desiring but a small can of beer, it was answered, that if he were their own father he should have none ; the disease began to fall amongst them also, so as almost half of their company died before they went away, and many of their officers and lustiest men, as the boatswain, gunner, three quartermasters, the cook, and others. At which the master was something struck and sent to the sick ashore and told the Governor he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though he drunk water homeward bound. But now amongst his company there was far another kind of carriage in this misery than amongst the passengers ; for they that

<sup>1</sup> Which was this author himself.

before had been boon companions in drinking and jollity in the time of their health and welfare, began now to desert one another in this calamity, saying they would not hazard their lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to die by it, would do little or nothing for them, but if they died let them die. But such of the passengers as were yet aboard showed them what mercy they could, which made some of their hearts relent, as the boatswain (and some others), who was a proud young man, and would often curse and scoff at the passengers : but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him ; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word and deed. O ! saith he, you, I now see, show your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lie and die like dogs. Another lay cursing his wife, saying if it had not been for her he had never come this unlucky voyage, and anon cursing his fellows, saying he had done this and that, for some of them, he had spent so much, and so much, amongst them, and they were now weary of him, and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weakness : he went and got a little spice and made him a mess of meat once or twice, and because he died not so soon as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, and swore the rogue would cozen him, he would see him choked before he made him any more meat : and yet the poor fellow died before morning.

*diar* All this while the Indians came skulking about them,  
*lations?* and would sometimes show themselves aloof of, but

when any approached near them, they would run away ; and once they stole away their tools where they had been at work and were gone to dinner. But about the 16 of March a certain Indian came boldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastern parts where some English ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted, and could name sundry of them by their names, amongst whom he had got his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the East-parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them ; as also of the people here, of their names, number and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. His name was Samasett ; he told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speak better English than himself. Being after some time of entertainment, and gifts dismissed, a while after he came again, and five more with him, and they brought again all the tools that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem, called Massasoxt. Who about four or five days came with the chief of his friends, and other attendance with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom after friendly entertainment, and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this twenty-four years).

## CHRISTMAS SPORTS (1622).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

x ON the day called Christmas-day, the Governor called them out to work, (as was used) but the most of this new company excused themselves, and said it went against their consciences to work on that day. So the Governor told them that if they made it matter of conscience, he would spare them, till they were better informed; so he led away the rest and left them; but when they came home at noon, from their work, he found them in the street at play openly; some pitching the bar, and some at stool-ball, and such like sports. So he went to them, and took away their implements, and told them, that was against his conscience, that they should play, and others work; if they made the keeping of it matter of devotion, let them keep their houses, but there should be no gaming, or revelling in the streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly. . . .

THE COMMUNAL SYSTEM ABANDONED  
(1623).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

So they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could, and obtain a better crop than they had done; that they might not still thus languish in misery. At length, after much debate

of things, the Governor (with the advice of the chiefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in that regard trust to themselves; in all other things to go on in the general way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number, for that end, only for present use (but made no division for inheritance), and ranged all boys, and youth under some family. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted, than otherwise would have been; by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them to set corn; which before would allege weakness and inability; whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny, and oppression.

The experience that was had in this common course, and condition, tried sundry years, and that amongst godly, and sober men; may well evince, the vanity of that conceit of Plato's, and other ancients, applauded by some of later times. That the taking away of property, and bringing in community into a commonwealth; would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God; for this community, (so far as it was) was found to breed much confusion, and discontent, and retard much employment, that would have been to their benefit, and comfort. For the young men that were most able and fit for labor, and service, did repine that they should spend their time and strength to work

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for other men's wives, and children, without any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in division of victuals, and clothes, than he that was weak, and not able to do a quarter the other could, this was thought injustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked, and equalised, in labors, and victuals, clothes, &c., with the meaner, and younger sort, thought it some indignity, and disrespect unto them. And for men's wives to be commanded, to do service for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their clothes, &c., they deemed it a kind of slavery, neither could many husbands well brook it. Upon the point all being to have alike, and all to do alike, they thought themselves in the like condition, and one as good as another ; and so if it did not cut off those relations, that God hath set amongst men ; yet it did at least much diminish, and take off the mutual respects, that should be preserved amongst them. And would have been worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none object this is men's corruption ; and nothing to the course itself ; I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdom saw another course fitter for them.

But to return. After this course settled, and by that their corn was planted, all their victuals were spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence ; at night not many times knowing where to have a bit of any thing the next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world. Yet they bore these wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as for the

most part of two years ; which makes me remember what Peter Martyr writes, (in magnifying the Spaniards) in his Fifth Decade, page 208. *They (saith he) led a miserable life for five days together, with the parched grain of maize only, and that not to saturity; and then concludes, that such pains, such labors, and such hunger, he thought none living which is not a Spaniard could have endured.* But alas ! these, when they had maize (that is, Indian corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted not only for five days together, but some times two or three months together, and neither had bread nor any kind of corn. Indeed, in another place, in his Second Decade page 94. he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, where they were fain to eat dogs, toads, and dead men, and so died almost all. From these extremities the Lord in his goodness kept these his people, and in their wants preserved both their lives and their healths ; let his name have the praise. Yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people : *That with their miseries they opened a way to these new lands ; and after these storms, with what ease other men came to inhabit in them, in respect of the calamities these men suffered ; so as they seem to go to a bride feast where all things are provided for them.*

## MORTON AND MERRY MOUNT (1628).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

ABOUT some three or four years before this time, there came over one Captain Wollaston, (a man of pretty parts,) and with him three or four more of some eminency, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other implements for to begin a plantation ; and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts, which they called, after their captain's name, Mount Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton, who, it should seem, had some small adventure (of his own or other men's) amongst them ; but had little respect amongst them, and was slighted by the meanest servants. Having continued there some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profit to arise as they looked for, Captain Wollaston takes a great part of the servants, and transports them to Virginia, where he puts them off at good rates, selling their time to other men ; and writes back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his chief partners, and accounted their merchant, to bring another part of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them off there as he had done the rest. And he, with the consent of the said Rassdall, appointed one Fitcher to be his Lieutenant, and govern the remains of the plantation, till he or Rassdall returned to take further order thereabout. But this Morton above-said, having more craft than honesty, (who had been a kind of pettifogger, of Furnefell's Inn,) in the other's absence, watches an opportunity,

(commons being but hard amongst them,) and got some strong drink and other junkets, and made them a feast ; and after they were merry, he began to tell them, he would give them good counsel. “ You see,” saith he, “ that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia ; and if you stay till this Rassdall return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest. Therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieutenant Fitcher ; and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates ; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trade, plant, and live together as equals, and support and protect one another,” or to like effect. This counsel was easily received ; so they took opportunity, and thrust Lieutenant Fitcher out of doors, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat, and other relief from his neighbors, till he could get passages for England. After this they fell to great licentiousness, and led a dissolute life, pouring out themselves into all profaneness. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a school of Atheism. And after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great excess, and, as some reported, ten shillings worth in a morning. They also set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing about it many days together, inviting the Indian women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking together, (like so many fairies, or furies rather,) and worse practices. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the Roman

goddess Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. Morton likewise (to show his poetry) composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idol May-pole. They changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they call it Merry Mount, as if this jollity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England, (as follows to be declared,) shortly after came over that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicott, who brought over a patent under the broad seal, for the government of the Massachusetts, who visiting those parts caused that May-pole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look there should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed the name of their place again, and called it Mount Dagon.

Now, to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse excess, Morton, thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the French and fishermen made by trading of pieces, powder, and shot to the Indians, he, as the head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge and discharge, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of the same; and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer. And having thus instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him, so as they became far more active in that employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body,

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being also quick-sighted, and by continual exercise well knowing the haunts of all sorts of game. So as when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became mad, as it were, after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them ; accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here I may take occasion to bewail the mischief that this wicked man began in these parts, and which since base covetousness prevailing in men that should know better, has now at length got the upper hand, and made this thing common, notwithstanding any laws to the contrary ; so as the Indians are full of pieces all over, both fowling pieces, muskets, pistols, etc. They have also their moulds to make shot, of all sorts, as musket bullets, pistol bullets, swan and goose shot, and of smaller sorts ; yea, some have seen them have their screw-plates to make screw-pins themselves, when they want them, with sundry other implements, wherewith they are ordinarily better fitted and furnished than the English themselves. Yea, it is well known that they will have powder and shot, when the English want it, nor can not get it ; and that in a time of war or danger, as experience hath manifested, that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their own defence would gladly have given a groat a pound, which is dear enough, yet hath it been bought up and sent to other places, and sold to such as trade it with the Indians, at twelve pence the pound ; and it is like they give three or four shillings the pound, for they will have it at any rate. And these things have been done in the same times, when

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some of their neighbors and friends are daily killed by the Indians, or are in danger thereof, and live but at the Indians' mercy. Yea, some (as they have acquainted them with all other things) have told them how gunpowder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own land ; and I am confident, could they attain to make saltpetre, they would teach them to make powder. Oh, the horribleness of this villany ! how many both Dutch and English have been lately slain by those Indians, thus furnished ; and no remedy provided, nay, the evil more increased, and the blood of their brethren sold for gain, as is to be feared ; and in what danger all these colonies are in is too well known. Oh ! that princes and parliaments would take some timely order to prevent this mischief, and at length to suppress it, by some exemplary punishment upon some of these gain-thirsty murderers, (for they deserve no better title,) before their colonies in these parts be overthrown by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their own weapons, by these evil instruments, and traitors to their neighbors and country. But I have forgot myself, and have been too long in this digression ; but now to return : This Morton having thus taught them the use of pieces, he sold them all he could spare ; and he and his consorts determined to send for many out of England, and had by some of the ships sent for above a score ; the which being known, and his neighbors meeting the Indians in the woods armed with guns in this sort, it was a terror unto them, who lived stragglingly, and were of no strength in any place. And other places (though more remote) saw this mischief would quickly spread

over all, if not prevented. Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertain any, how vile soever, and all the scum of the country, or any discontents, would flock to him from all places, if this nest was not broken ; and they should stand in more fear of their lives and goods (in short time) from this wicked and debauched crew, than from the savages themselves.

So sundry of the chief of the straggling plantations, meeting together, agreed by mutual consent to solicit those of Plymouth (who were then of more strength than them all) to join with them to prevent the further growth of this mischief, and suppress Morton and his consorts before they grew to further head and strength. Those that joined in this action (and after contributed to the charge of sending him for England) were from Pascataway, Namkeake, Winisimett, Weesagascusett, Natasco, and other places where any English were seated. Those of Plymouth being thus sought too by their messengers and letters, and weighing both their reasons, and the common danger, were willing to afford them their help ; though themselves had least cause of fear or hurt. So, to be short, they first resolved jointly to write to him, and in a friendly and neighborly way to admonish him to forbear these courses, and sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so high as he scorned all advice, and asked who had to do with him ; he had and would trade pieces with the Indians in despite of all, with many other scurrilous terms full of disdain. They sent to him a second time, and bade him be better advised, and more temperate in his terms, for the country could not bear the injury he did ; it

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&  
Reply

was against their common safety, and against the king's proclamation. He answered in high terms as before, and that the king's proclamation was no law ; demanding what penalty was upon it. It was answered, more than he could bear, his majesty's displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said the king was dead and his displeasure with him, and many the like things ; and threatened withal that if any came to molest him, let them look to themselves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw there was no way but to take him by force ; and having so far proceeded, now to give over would make him far more haughty and insolent. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of the Governor of Plymouth to send Captain Standish, and some other aid with him, to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done ; but they found him to stand stiffly in his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set divers dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table ; and if they had not been overarmed with drink, more hurt might have been done. They summoned him to yield, but he kept his house, and they could get nothing but scoffs and scorns from him ; but at length, fearing they would do some violence to the house, he and some of his crew came out, but not to yield, but to shoot ; but they were so steeled with drink as their pieces were too heavy for them ; himself with a carbine (overcharged and almost half filled with powder and shot, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captain Standish ; but he stepped to him, and put by his piece, and took him. Neither was there any hurt done to any of either side, save that one

was so drunk that he ran his own nose upon the point of a sword that one held before him as he entered the house ; but he lost but a little of his hot blood. Morton they brought away to Plymouth, where he was kept, till a ship went from the Isle of Shoals for England, with which he was sent to the Council of New-England ; and letters written to give them information of his course and carriage ; and also one was sent at their common charge to inform their Honors more particularly, and to prosecute against him. But he fooled of the messenger, after he was gone from hence, and though he went for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebuked, for aught was heard ; but returned the next year. Some of the worst of the company were dispersed, and some of the more modest kept the house till he should be heard from. But I have been too long about so unworthy a person, and bad a cause.

## SOME STRANGE AND REMARKABLE PASSAGES (1634).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

I AM now to relate some strange and remarkable passages. There was a company of people lived in the country, up above in the river of Conigtecute, a great way from their trading house there, and were enemies to those Indians which lived about them, and of whom they stood in some fear (being a stout people). About a thousand of them had enclosed them-

selves in a fort, which they had strongly pallisadoed about. Three or four Dutchmen went up in the beginning of winter to live with them, to get their trade, and prevent them for bringing it to the English, or to fall into amity with them, but at spring to bring all down to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visit these Indians with a great sickness, and such a mortality that of a thousand above nine hundred and a half of them died, and many of them did rot above ground for want of burial, and the Dutchmen almost starved before they could get away, for ice and snow. But about February they got with much difficulty to their trading house; whom they kindly relieved, being almost spent with hunger and cold. Being thus refreshed by them divers days, they got to their own place, and the Dutch were very thankful for this kindness.

This spring, also, those Indians that lived about their trading house there fell sick of the smallpox, and died most miserably; for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more than the plague, for usually they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linen and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lie on their hard mats, the pox breaking and mattering, and runing one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason thereof) to the mats they lie on; when they turn them a whole side will flay off at once, (as it were) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearful to behold; and then being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell down so generally of

this disease, as they were (in the end) not able to help one another ; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a little water to drink, nor any to bury the dead ; but would strive as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burn the wooden trays and dishes they ate their meat in, and their very bows and arrows, and some would crawl out on all fours to get a little water, and sometimes die by the way, and not be able to get in again. But those of the English house (though at first they were afraid of the infection) yet seeing their woeful and sad condition, and hearing their pitiful cries and lamentations, they had compassion of them, and daily fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, got them victuals whilst they lived, and buried them when they died. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to the hazzard of themselves. The chief Sachem himself now died, and almost all his friends and kindred. But by the marvelous goodness and providence of God not one of the English was so much as sick, or in the least measure tainted with this disease though they daily did these offices for them for many weeks together. And this mercy which they showed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all the Indians that knew or heard of the same ; and their ministers here did much commend and reward them for the same.

## CRIME AMONG THE SAINTS (1638).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen Governor. Amongst other enormities that fell out amongst them, this year three men were (after due trial) executed for robbery and murder which they had committed; their names were these, Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Stinnings; there was a fourth, Daniel Crose who was also guilty, but he escaped away, and could not be found. This Arthur Peach was the chief of them, and the ring leader of all the rest. He was a lusty and a desperate young man, and had been one of the soldiers in the Pequente war, and had done as good service as the most there, and one of the forwardest in any attempt. And being now out of means, and loath to work, and falling to idle courses and company, he intended to go to the Dutch plantation; and had allured these three, being other men's servants and apprentices, to go with him. But another cause there was also of his secret going away in this manner; he was not only run into debt, but he had got a maid with child, (which was not known till after his death) a man's servant in the town, and fear of punishment made him get away. The other three plotting with him, ran away from their masters in the night, and could not be heard of, for they went not the ordinary way, but shaped such a course as they thought to avoid the pursuit of any. But falling into the way that lieth between the Bay of Massachusetts

and the Naragansett, and being disposed to rest themselves, struck fire, and took tobacco, a little out of the way by the way side. At length there came a Naragansett Indian by, who had been in the Bay a trading, and had both cloth and beads about him. (They had met him the day before and he was now returning.) Peach called him to drink tobacco with them, and he came and sat down with them. Peach told the other[s] he would kill him and take what he had from him. But they were something afraid; but he said, Hang him, rogue, he had killed many of them. So they let him alone to do as he would; and when he saw his time he took a rapier and ran him through the body once or twice, and took from him five fathoms of wampum and three coats of cloth, and went their way, leaving him for dead. But he scrambled away, when they were gone, and made shift to get home, (but died within a few days after) by which means they were discovered; and by subtlety the Indians took them. For they desiring a canoe to set them over a water, (not thinking their fact had been known) by the sachem's command they were carried to Aquidnett Island and there accused of the murder, and were examined and committed upon it by the English there. The Indians sent for Mr. Williams, and made a grievous complaint; his friends and kindred were ready to rise in arms, and provoke the rest thereunto, some conceiving they should now find the Pequents' words true: that the English would fall upon them. But Mr. Williams pacified them and told them they should see justice done upon the offenders: and went to the man and took Mr. James, a physician, with him. The man told him who did it,

and in what manner it was done; but the physician found his wounds mortal, and that he could not live, (as he after testified upon oath, before the jury in open court) and so he died shortly after, as both Mr. Williams, Mr. James, and some Indians testified in court. The Government in the Bay were acquainted with it, but referred it hither, because it was done in this jurisdiction;<sup>1</sup> but pressed by all means that justice might be done in it, or else the country must rise and see justice done, otherwise it would raise a war. Yet some of the rude and ignorant sort murmured that any English should be put to death for the Indians. So at last they of the Island brought them hither, and being often examined and the evidence produced, they all in the end freely confessed in effect all that the Indian accused them of, and that they had done it in the manner aforesaid; and so upon the forementioned evidence, were cast by the jury, and condemned, and executed for the same. And some of the Naragansett Indians and of the parties' friends, were present when it was done, which gave them and all the country good satisfaction. But it was a matter of much sadness to them here, and was the second execution which they had since they came; being both for wilful murder, as hath been before related. Thus much of this matter.

<sup>1</sup> And yet afterwards they laid claim to those parts in the controversy about Seacunc.

## RELATION OR

Journal of the beginning and proceedings  
of the English Plantation settled at *Plimoth* in New  
England, by certaine English Aduenturers both  
Merchants and others.

With their difficult passage, their safe arrival, their  
ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them-  
selues in the now well defended Towne  
of New Plimoth.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE  
seuerall discoueries since made by some of the  
same English Planters there resident.

I. In a journey to Pvckanokick the habitation of the Ind-  
ians greatest King Massasoyt: as also their message, the  
answer and entertainment they had of him.

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of  
Nawset to seeke a boy that had lost himselfe in the woods:  
with such accidents as befell them in that voyage.

III. In their journey to the Kingdome of Namaschet, in  
defence of their greatest King Massasoyt, against the Narro-  
higgonsets, and to reuenge the supposed death of their Inter-  
preter Tisquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Massachusets, and their enter-  
tainment there.

With an answer to all such objections as are in any way  
made against the lawfulnessse of English  
plantations in those parts.

LONDON

Printed for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the  
two Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.



# MOURT'S RELATION.<sup>1</sup>

## EBULLIENT YOUTH ON THE "MAYFLOWER."

THE fifth day [Dec. 5, 1620] we through God's mercy escaped a great danger by the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons, who in his father's absence had got gunpowder and had shot off a piece or two and made squibs, and there being a fowling piece charged in his father's cabin shot her off in the cabin, there being a little barrel of powder half-full scattered in and about the cabin, the fire being within four foot of the bed between the decks, and many flints and iron things about the cabin, and many people about the fire, and yet, by God's mercy, no harm done.

## EXPLORING CAPE COD NEAR TRURO AND WELLFLEET.

WEDNESDAY, the 6th of December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while after we launched from the ship before we could get clear of a sandy point which lay within less than a

<sup>1</sup> The title-page given on page 63 is not a complete *facsimile*, but gives a good idea of the original.

furlong of the same. In which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had like to have sounded [swooned] with cold ; the gunner was also sick unto death, (but hope of tru[c]king made him to go) and so remained all that day and the next night ; at length we got clear of the sandy point and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing, but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron. . . .

. . . We then directed our course along the sea sands, to the place where we first saw the Indians ; when we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up ; they cut it into long rands or pieces, about an ell long and two handful broad ; we found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for haste. This place the most were minded we should call the Grampus Bay because we found so many of them there. We followed the tract of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length we saw where they struck into the woods by the side of a pond. As we went to view the place, one said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees, so went up to see. . . . So we lit on a path but saw no house and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set but not that year. Anon we found a great burying place one part whereof was encompassed with a great palisado like a churchyard. . . . Those graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill, yet we digged none of them up, but only viewed them and went our way.

## THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH.

THAT night we returned again ashore with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places. So, in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of two places which we thought most fitting for us ; for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 19th [new style 29th] of December. After our landing and viewing of the places so well as we could, we came to a conclusion by most voices to set on the mainland, on the first place, on an high ground where there is a great deal of land cleared and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago, and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hillside and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbor our shallops and boats exceeding well, and in this brook much good fish in their season. On the further side of the river also much cornground cleared. In one field is a great hill [*i.e.* Burial Hill] on which we point to make a platform and plant our ordnance which will command all round about ; from thence we may see into the bay and far into the sea, and we may see thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labor will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile, but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none. . . .

Monday, the 25th, being Christmas Day [new style, Jan. 4th] we began to drink water aboard, but

at night the master caused us to have some beer, and so on board we had divers times now and then some beer, but on shore none at all. . . .

Thursday the 28th of December [new style, Jan. 7th] . . . in the afternoon we went to measure out the ground, and first we took notice how many families they were, willing all single men that had no wives to join with some family as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses ; which was done and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots ; to every person half a pole in breadth and three in length, and so lots were cast where every man should lie ; which was done and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds, for our former discoveries in frost and storms and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakness amongst us. . . .

### ABORIGINAL AMENITIES.

THURSDAY the 22nd of March [new style April 1st]. . . . Samoset came again and Squanto, the only native of Patuxat where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away and had been in England and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others ; and they brought with them some few skins to truck and some red herrings newly taken and dried but not salted, and signified unto us that their great Sagamore, Massasoit, was hard by with Quadequina, his brother, and all their

men. They could not well express in English what they would, but after an hour the King came to the top of an hill over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them and they us. We were not willing to send our Governor to them and they unwilling to come to us ; so Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winslow, to know his mind and to signify the mind and the will of our Governor, which was to have trading and peace with them. We sent to the King a pair of knives and a copper chain with a jewel at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit and some butter, which were all willingly accepted.

## THOMAS MORTON.

THOMAS MORTON, one of the most interesting, though hardly edifying, personages in New England history, was born in England about 1575 and died at Agamenticus, Maine, 1646. He was a lawyer of Clifford's Inn, London, and thirty-seven years old, when in 1622 he sought his fortune in New England, with a party of emigrants, who, according to his own account, "were very popular while their liquor lasted, but were afterwards turned adrift." Many of them found their way home, among them Morton; but he returned in 1625, as head of a body of emigrants who settled at Merry Mount, now Braintree. These settlers, like the former band with whom Morton was associated, caused scandal to the Plymouth colonists. They even set up a may-pole, and sang and danced around it. They fraternized with the Indians more than the other settlers did, and gave them guns that they might hunt more effectively for them. Morton was therefore arrested and sent to England, and the name Merry Mount changed to Dagon. He returned, was again arrested and transported, and then published his satiric account of the Puritan Colonists, *The New English Canaan*, by no means so lively as the career of its author might lead the reader to hope. This "scandalous book" caused his imprisonment for a year at Boston, on his fourth visit through Massachusetts. On his release, he went to Maine,

where he soon after died. Hawthorne's story, *The May-pole of Merry Mount*, has given a literary setting to the incident described in one of our extracts, which should be read in connection with Bradford's account of the same event. The best edition of the *New English Canaan* was made by Charles Francis Adams for the Prince Society in 1883.

## THE MAY-POLE REVELS AT MERRY MOUNT.

[FROM "NEW ENGLISH CANAAN" (AMSTERDAM, 1637), BOOK III. CHAP. XIV.]

THE inhabitants of Pasonagessit (having translated the name of their inhabitation from that ancient savage name to Ma-re Mount; and being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial to after ages) did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemn manner with revels and merriment after the old English custom, prepared to set up a May-pole upon the festival day of Philip and Jacob; and therefore brewed a barrel of excellent beer, and provided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheer, for all comers of that day. And because they would have it in a complete form, they had prepared a song fitting to the time and present occasion. And upon May-day they brought the May-pole to the place appointed, with drums, guns, pistols, and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of savages, that came thither of purpose to see the manner of our revels. A goodly pine

tree of eighty foot long, was reared up, with a pair of buck's horns nailed on, somewhat near unto the top of it: where it stood as a fair sea-mark for directions how to find out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount. . . .

The setting up of this May-pole was a lamentable spectacle to the precise Separatists that lived at New Plymouth. They termed it an idol; yea, they called it the Calf of Horeb: and stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatening to make it a woful mount, and not a merry mount. . . .

There was likewise a merry song made, which (to make their revels more fashionable) was sung with a chorus, every man bearing his part; which they performed in a dance, hand in hand about the May-pole, whilst one of the company sung, and filled out the good liquor like Gammedes and Jupiter.

#### THE SONG.

Drink and be merry, merry, merry, boys ;  
 Let all your delight be in Hymen's joys ;  
 Io to Hymen now the day is come,  
 About the merry May-pole take a room.  
     Make green garlons, bring bottles out;  
     And fill sweet Nectar, freely about.  
     Uncover thy head, and fear no harm,  
     For here's good liquor to keep it warm.  
         Then drink and be merry, etc.  
         Io to Hymen, etc.

Nectar is a thing assign'd,  
 By the Deity's own mind,  
 To cure the heart opprest with grief,  
 And of good liquors is the chief.  
     Then drink, etc.  
     Io to Hymen, etc.

Give to the melancholy man  
 A cup or two of 't now and then ;  
 This physic will soon revive his blood,  
 And make him be of a merrier mood.  
     Then drink, etc.  
     Io to Hymen, etc.

Give to the nymph that's free from scorn,  
 No Irish stuff nor Scotch overworn.  
 Lasses in beaver coats, come away ;  
 Ye shall be welcome to us night and day  
     To drink and be merry, etc.  
     Io to Hymen, etc.

This harmless mirth made by young men (that lived in hope to have wives brought over to them, that would save them a labor to make a voyage to fetch any over) was much distasted of the precise Separatists that kept much ado, about the tithe of mint and cumin, troubling their brains more than reason would require about things that are indifferent : and from that time sought occasion against my honest Host of Ma-re Mount to overthrow his undertakings, and to destroy his plantation quite and clean.

## CAPTAIN SHRIMP (MYLES STANDISH) CAPTURES MINE HOST (MORTON).

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK III. CHAP. XV.]

OF A GREAT MONSTER SUPPOSED TO BE AT MA-RE MOUNT ; AND THE PREPARATION MADE TO DESTROY IT.

THE Separatists envying the prosperity and hope of the plantation at Ma-re Mount (which they perceived began to come forward, and to be in a good

way for gain in the beaver trade), conspired together against mine Host especially, (who was the owner of that plantation) and made up a party against him ; and mustered up what aid they could ; accounting of him as of a great monster.

Many threatening speeches were given out both against his person, and his habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire. And taking advantage of the time when his company (which seemed little to regard their threats) were gone up into the inlands, to trade with the savages for beaver, they set upon my honest Host at a place, called Wess-aguscus, where (by accident) they found him. The inhabitants there were in good hope of the subversion of the plantation at Ma-re Mount (which they principally aimed at), and the rather, because mine Host was a man that endeavored to advance the dignity of the Church of England ; which they, on the contrary part, would labor to vilify with uncivil terms, inveighing against the sacred book of common prayer, and mine Host that used it in a laudable manner amongst his family, as a practice of piety.

There he would be a means to bring sacks to their mill (such is the thirst after beaver), and helped the conspirators to surprise mine Host (who was there all alone) and they charged him (because they would seem to have some reasonable cause against him to set a gloss upon their malice) with criminal things, which indeed had been done by such a person, but was of their conspiracy. Mine Host demanded of the conspirators who it was, that was author of that information, that seemed to be their ground for what they now intended. And because they answered they

would not tell him, he as peremptorily replied that he would not say whether he had or he had not done as they had been informed.

The answer made no matter (as it seemed) whether it had been negatively, or affirmatively made, for they had resolved what he should suffer, because (as they boasted,) they were now become the greater number : they had shaken off their shackles of servitude, and were become masters, and masterless people.

It appears, they were like bears' whelps in former time, when mine Host's plantation was of as much strength as theirs, but now (theirs being stronger,) they (like overgrown bears) seemed monstrous. In brief, mine Host must endure to be their prisoner until they could contrive it so that they might send him for England, (as they said,) there to suffer according to the merit of the fact, which they intended to father upon him ; supposing (belike) it would prove a heinous crime.

Much rejoicing was made that they had gotten their capital enemy (as they concluded him) whom they purposed to hamper in such sort that he should not be able to uphold his plantation at Ma-re Mount.

The conspirators sported themselves at my honest Host, that meant them no hurt ; and were so jocund that they feasted their bodies, and fell to tippling, as if they had obtained a great prize ; like the Trojans when they had the custody of Hippeus' pine-tree horse.

Mine Host feigned grief, and could not be persuaded either to eat or drink, because he knew emptiness would be a means to make him as watchful as the geese kept in the Roman capitol : whereon, the

contrary part, the conspirators would be so drowsy, that he might have an opportunity to give them a slip, instead of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessaguscus. But he kept waking; and in the dead of night (one lying on the bed, for further surety,) up gets mine Host and got to the second door that he was to pass, which, notwithstanding the lock, he got open: and shut it after him with such violence, that it affrighted some of the conspirators.

The word, which was given with an alarm, was, "Oh, he's gone, he's gone! What shall we do? He's gone!" The rest (half asleep) start up in a maze, and like rams, ran their heads one at another full butt in the dark.

Their grand leader, Captain Shrimp, took on most furiously, and tore his clothes for anger, to see the empty nest, and their bird gone.

The rest were eager to have torn their hair from their heads, but it was so short that it would give them no hold. Now Captain Shrimp thought in the loss of this prize (which he accounted his masterpiece,) all his honor would be lost forever.

In the meantime mine Host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles, round about the head of the river Monatoquit, that parted the two plantations, finding his way by the help of the lightning (for it thundered, as he went, terribly). And there he prepared powder, three pounds dried, for his present employment, and four good guns for him, and the two assistants left at his house, with bullets of several sizes, three hundred or thereabouts, to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thither;

and these two persons promised their aids in the quarrel, and confirmed that promise with a health in good *rosa solis*.

Now Captain Shrimp, the first captain in the land, (as he supposed,) must do some new act to repair this loss, and to vindicate his reputation, who had sustained blemish, by this oversight. Begins now to study how to repair or survive his honor in this manner; calling of council: they conclude.

He takes eight persons more to him, and (like the nine worthies of New Canaan) they embark with preparation against Ma-re Mount, where this monster of a man, as their phrase was, had his den; the whole number, had the rest not been from home, being but seven, would have given Captain Shrimp, (a quondam drummer,) such a welcome, as would have made him wish for a drum as big as Diogenes' tub, that he might have crept into it out of sight.

Now the nine worthies are approached; and mine Host prepared, having intelligence by a savage, that hastened in love from Wessaguscus, to give him notice of their intent.

One of mine Host's men proved a craven; the other had proved his wits to purchase a little valor, before mine Host had observed his posture.

The nine worthies coming before the den of this supposed monster, (this seven-headed hydra, as they termed him) and began, like Don Quixote against the windmill, to beat a parley, and to offer quarter if mine Host would yield; for they resolved to send him for England, and bade him lay by his arms.

But he (who was the son of a soldier), having taken up arms in his just defence, replied that he

would not lay by those arms, because they were so needful at sea, if he should be sent over. Yet to save the effusion of so much worthy blood, as would have issued out of the veins of these nine worthies of New Canaan, if mine Host should have played upon them out at his port-holes (for they came within danger like a flock of wild geese, as if they had been tailed one to another, as colts to be sold at a fair) mine Host was content to yield upon a quarter; and did capitulate with them in what manner it should be for more certainty, because he knew what Captain Shrimp was.

He expressed that no violence should be offered to his person, none to his goods, nor any of his household: but that he should have his arms, and what else was requisite for the voyage: which their herald returns, it was agreed upon, and should be performed.

But mine Host no sooner had set open the door and issued out, but instantly Captain Shrimp and the rest of the worthies stepped to him, laid hold of his arms and had him down; and so eagerly was every man bent against him (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnal man,) that they fell upon him as if they would have eaten him. Some of them were so violent that they would have a slice with scabbard, and all for haste, until an old soldier (of the Queen's, as the proverb is) that was there by accident, clapped his gun under the weapons, and sharply rebuked these worthies for their unworthy practices. So the matter was taken into more deliberate consideration.

Captain Shrimp and the rest of the nine worthies made themselves by this outrageous riot masters of

mine Host of Ma-re Mount, and disposed of what he had at his plantation.

This they knew (in the eye of the savages) would add to their glory; and diminish the reputation of mine honest Host, whom they practised to be rid of, upon any terms, as willingly as if it had been the very hydra of time :<sup>1</sup>

### MORTON'S FATE.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK III., CHAP. XVI.]

A CONCLUSION was made and sentence given that mine Host should be sent to England a prisoner. But when he was brought to the ships for that purpose, no man durst be so foolhardy as to undertake carry him [an error of statement]. So these worthies set mine Host upon an island, without gun, powder, or shot or dog or so much as a knife to get any thing to feed upon, or any other clothes to shelter him with at winter than a thin suit which he had on at that time. Hence he could not get to Ma-re Mount. Upon this island he stayed a month at least, and was relieved by savages that took notice that mine Host was a Sachem of Passonagessit, and would bring bottles of strong liquor to him, and unite themselves into a league of brotherhood with mine Host ; so full of humanity are these infidels before those Christians.

From this place for England sailed mine Host in a Plymouth ship. . . .

<sup>1</sup> The entire chapter is given in this selection.

## FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

FRANCIS HIGGINSON, the founder of that distinguished New England family, was born in England in 1588, and died in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1630. Like most of the New England divines of his generation he was a graduate of Cambridge University, and had been an Anglican clergyman before his emigration. Becoming a Puritan, he gave up his benefice, and supported himself by preparing men for college, till in 1628 he accepted an invitation from the Massachusetts Bay Company, to join their colony. He reached Salem in the next year, and was almost immediately chosen teacher of the congregation there. The next year he sickened and died, an ironical commentary on the somewhat extravagant praise of the New England climate, that appears in his *New England's Plantation, or a short and true description of the Commodities of that Country*, published in 1630, and reprinted in the first volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection. Our extracts are from this work. Higginson wrote also an account of his voyage, afterwards printed in Hutchinson's *Original Papers* (1769). A Life of Francis Higginson has been written by his eminent descendant, Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1891).

"FIRST THEREFORE OF THE EARTH  
OF NEW ENGLAND, AND ALL THE  
APPURTENANCES THEREOF."

[FROM "NEW ENGLAND'S PLANTATION," 1630.]

. . . I WILL endeavor to show you what New England is . . . and truly endeavor, by God's help, to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities. Though, as the idle proverb is, "Travelers may lie by authority," and so may take too much sinful liberty that way, yet I may say of myself, as once Nehemiah did in another case, "Shall such a man as I lie?" No, verily. It becometh not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falsehood in any degree; and therefore I have been careful to report nothing of New-England but what I have partly seen with mine own eyes, and partly heard and inquired from the mouths of very honest and religious persons, who by living in the country a good space of time have had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I do believe as myself.

The fertility of the soil is to be admired at, as appeareth in the abundance of grass that groweth every where, both very thick, very long, and very high in divers places. But it groweth very wildly, with a great stalk, and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten with cattle, nor mowed with a scythe, and seldom trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be believed how our kine and goats, horses

Soil

Grass

and hogs do thrive and prosper here, and like well of this country.

In our Plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny. But the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment. Thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, are ordinary here. Yea, Joseph's increase in Egypt is outstripped here with us. Our planters hope to have more than a hundred-fold this year. And all this while I am within compass ; what will you say of two hundred-fold, and upwards ? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English planters have had by our Indian corn. Credible persons have assured me, and the party himself avouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of thirteen gallons of corn he hath had increase of it fifty-two hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushel was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth eighteen shillings ; and so of this thirteen gallons of corn, which was worth six shillings eight pence, he made about £327 of it the year following, as by reckoning will appear ; where you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this land. There is not such great and plentiful ears of corn I suppose anywhere else to be found but in this country, being also of variety of colors, as red, blue, and yellow, &c. ; and of one corn there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many ears of divers colors, that you might see the truth of it.

Little children here, by setting of corn, may earn much more than their own maintenance.

They have tried our English corn at New Plymouth Plantation, so that all our several grains will grow

here very well, and have a fitting soil for their nature.

Our Governor hath store of green pease growing in his garden as good as ever I eat in England. *vegetables*

This country aboundeth naturally with store of roots of great variety and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinarily to be found in England. Here are also store of pumpions, cowcumbers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also, divers excellent pot-herbs grow abundantly among the grass, as strawberry leaves in all places of the country, and plenty of strawberries in their time, and penny-royal, winter-savory, sorrel, brooklime, liverwort, carvel, and watercresses; also leeks and onions are ordinary, and divers physical herbs. Here are also abundance of other sweet herbs, delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, and plenty of single damask roses, very sweet; and two kinds of herbs that bear two kinds of flowers very sweet, which they say are as good to make cordage or cloth as any hemp or flax we have.

Excellent vines are here up and down in the woods. Our Governor hath already planted a vineyard, with great hope of increase.

Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chest-nuts, filberts, walnuts, small-nuts, hurtleberries, and haws of white-thorn, near as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plenty here.

For wood, there is no better in the world, I think, here being four sorts of oak, differing both in the leaf, timber, and color, all excellent good. There is also good ash, elm, willow, birch, beech, sassafras, juniper, *Wood*

cypress, cedar, spruce, pines and fir, that will yield abundance of turpentine, pitch, tar, masts, and other material for building both of ships and houses. Also there are store of sumach trees, that are good for dyeing and tanning of leather ; likewise such trees yield a precious gum, called white benjamin, that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also here be divers roots and berries, wherewith the Indians dye excellent holding colors, that no rain nor washing can alter. Also we have materials to make soap ashes and saltpetre in abundance.

For beasts there are some bears, and they say some lions also ; for they have been seen at Cape Anne. Also here are several sorts of deer, some whereof bring three or four young ones at once, which is not ordinary in England ; also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martens, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke, as big as an ox. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this Plantation, excepting lions. Also here are great store of squirrels, some greater, and some smaller and lesser ; there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certain skin will fly from tree to tree, though they stand far distant.

“OF THE WATERS OF NEW ENGLAND, WITH  
THE THINGS BELONGING TO THE SAME.”

\* \* \* \* \*

*Fish.* The abundance of sea-fish are almost beyond believing ; and sure I should scarce have believed it except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales, and grampuses, and such abun-

dance of mackerels that it would astonish one to behold ; likewise codfish, abundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat ; it is altogether as good as our fresh salmon ; and the season of their coming was begun when we came first to New-England in June, and so continued about three months' space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore, to my admiration. Yea, their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to haul to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let a many go after they have taken them ; and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And besides bass, we take plenty of scate and thornback, and abundance of lobsters, and the least boy in the Plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part, I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and luscious. I have seen some myself that have weighed sixteen pound ; but others have had divers times so great lobsters as have weighed twenty-five pound, as they assured me. . . .

“OF THE AIR OF NEW ENGLAND, WITH THE  
TEMPER AND CREATURES IN IT.”

The temper of the air of New-England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies. Many that have been weak and

sickly in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed, and grown healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinary clear and dry air, that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been, and continually in physic, being much troubled with a tormenting pain through an extraordinary weakness of my stomach, and abundance of melancholic humors. But since I came hither on this voyage, I thank God I have had perfect health, and freed from pain and vomiting, having a stomach to digest the hardest and coarsest fare, who before could not eat finest meat ; and whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, now I can and do oftentimes drink New-England water very well. And I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the day time ; and whereas beforetime I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the summer time, I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light stuff cassock upon my shirt, and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings. Besides, I have one of my children, that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king's evil ; but since he came hither he is very well ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recovery shortly, even by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude

humors of the body ; and therefore I think it is a wise course for all cold complexions to come to take physic in New-England ; for a sup of New-England's air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale.

## DISCOMMODITIES.

Thus of New England's Commodities.

Now I will tell you of some discommodities, that are here to be found.

First, in the summer season, for these three months, June, July, and August, we are troubled much with little flies called mosquitoes, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolnshire and the fens ; and they are nothing but gnats, which, except they be smoked out of their houses, are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, in the winter season, for two months' space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts, something more sharp than is in Old England, and therefore are forced to make great fires.

Thirdly, this country being very full of woods and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents, of strange colors and huge greatness. Yea, there are some serpents, called rattlesnakes, that have rattles in their tails, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him and sting him so mortally that he will die within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stinged have about him some of the root of an herb called snake-weed to bite on, and then he shall receive no harm. But yet seldom falls

it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since an Indian was stung to death by one of them ; but we heard of none since that time.

Fourthly and lastly, here wants as yet the good company of honest Christians, to bring with them horses, kine and sheep, to make use of this fruitful land. Great pity it is to see so much good ground for corn and for grass as any is under the heavens, to lie altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in Old England, through the populousness thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other.

“OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PLANTATION AND WHAT IT IS.”

\* \* \* \* \*

There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nehumkek, now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Masathulet's Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Cherton, or Charles town.

We that are settled at Salem make what haste we can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a fair town.

We have great ordnance wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortify ourselves in a short time to keep out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defense above all others, is that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught amongst us. Thanks be to God, we have here plenty of preaching, and diligent

catechising, with strict and careful exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a Christian conversation with whom we have to do withal. And thus we doubt not but God will be with us ; and if God be with us, who can be against us ?

[The end of the tract.]

## JOHN WINTHROP.

JOHN WINTHROP, the most cultured and philosophic of the early New England settlers, was born of wealthy and scholarly ancestry, at Edwardston, England, in 1588, and died at Boston in 1649. He was educated at Cambridge, and proving himself exemplary for grave and Christian deportment, was made a Justice of the Peace in the year that he reached his majority. Repeated domestic bereavements deepened his naturally serious temperament, but he resisted an inclination to the ministry and gained some distinction in law. In 1618 he married his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Tyndall, a knight, of Great Maplestead in Essex, who shared for thirty years his arduous and eventful life. Their letters sufficiently attest the beautiful sympathy that characterized their domestic life. Eleven years later he took part in the formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and the next year, 1630, sailed for America as Governor of the Puritan colonists at Salem, Charlestown, and Boston. He was the completest representative of the Puritan spirit. With the exception of seven years, he governed the colony till his death, and in the intervals of administration he was always actively engaged in public affairs. The colony owed much to his wisdom and courage. Historians feel hardly less indebted to his *History of New England from 1630 to 1649*. It is unpretentious, simple, personal, not with-

out credulity often, not without a touch of humor sometimes, but its very homeliness adds to its effectiveness. He seems to bring us nearer the heart of colonial life, nearer the reality of the Puritan religion and conscience, than does any contemporary writer. To him it is a great providence when Mr. Glover's house blew up, that the children had gone out to play "though it was a very cold day." It will be a "providence," too, if ungodly men left upon an oyster bank are drowned by a rising tide, though they might have waded out had they known the way. This is characteristic of an attitude of mind much bent on justifying the ways of God to men, but when Winthrop turns to larger horizons he is dignified, impartial, and shows a philosophic grasp of affairs that could come only from a noble and trained mind that was capable of a high idealism. Politically he was a conservative. Universal suffrage and unlimited democracy did not appeal to him. The best part of a community, he wrote, was always the least, and of that best part the wiser part was always the lesser.

The book from which most of our extracts are taken had a curious history, which suggests the even more remarkable fate of Bradford's *History*. It too was in the library of Old South Church at the Revolution. Two of its volumes were found after the peace in the hands of the Connecticut Winthrops. Noah Webster edited these in 1790. The third volume lay undiscovered in the church until 1816, and while a new edition was being prepared, the second volume was burned. Of this, therefore, we have only Webster's carelessly executed edition.

## A PURITAN ELECTION.

[FROM WINTHROP'S "HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND."]

[1637. May 17.] Our court of elections was at Newtown. So soon as the court was set, being about one of the clock, a petition was preferred by those of Boston. The governor would have read it, but the deputy said it was out of order ; it was a court for elections, and those must first be despatched, and then their petitions should be heard. Divers others also opposed that course, as an ill precedent, etc. ; and the petition, being about pretence of liberty, etc., (though intended chiefly for revoking the sentence given against Mr. Wheelwright,) would have spent all the day in debate, etc. ; but yet the governor and those of that party would not proceed to election, except the petition was read. Much time was already spent about this debate, and the people crying out for election, it was moved by the deputy, that the people should divide themselves, and the greater number must carry it. And so it was done, and the greater number by many were for election. But the governor and that side kept their place still, and would not proceed. Whereupon the deputy told him, that, if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed. Upon that, he came from his company, and they went to election ; and Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, Mr. Dudley deputy, and Mr. Endecott of the standing council ; and Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall were called in to be assistants ; and Mr. Vane, Mr. Cod-

dington, and Mr. Dummer, (being all of that faction,) were left quite out.

There was great danger of a tumult that day ; for those of that side grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others ; but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet. They expected a great advantage that day, because the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy ; but it fell out, that there were enough beside. But if it had been otherwise, they must have put in their deputies, as other towns had done, for all matters beside elections. Boston, having deferred to choose deputies till the election was passed, went home that night, and the next morning they sent Mr. Vane, the late governor, and Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Hoffe, for their deputies ; but the court, being grieved at it, found a means to send them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boston had no notice of the election. So they went all home, and the next morning they returned the same gentlemen again upon a new choice ; and the court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted. . . .

## A CRUEL SCHOOL-MASTER OF 1639.

[FROM THE SAME.]

AT the general court at Boston, one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, brother to the merchant at Quilpiack, was convented and censured. The occasion was this: He was a school-master, and had many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the coun-

try, and had entertained one Nathaniel Briscoe, a gentleman born, to be his usher, and to do some other things for him, which might not be unfit for a scholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and, with reproachful terms, discharged him, and turned him out of his doors; but, it being then about eight of the clock after the Sabbath, he told him he should stay till next morning, and, some words growing between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house. Briscoe defended himself, and closed with him, and, being parted, he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him, etc., and if he could not, by the power of a master, reform him, then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length, and, taking his two men with him, he went up to Briscoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders, etc., and so kept him under blows (with some two or three short intermissions) about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over. In this distress Briscoe gate out his knife, and struck at the man that held him, but hurt him not. He also fell to prayer (supposing he should have been murdered), and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain.

After this Mr. Eaton and Mr. Shepherd (who knew not then of these passages) came to the gov-

ernor and some other of the magistrates, complaining of Briscoe for his insolent speeches, and for crying out murder and drawing his knife, and desired that he might be enjoined to a public acknowledgment, etc. The magistrates answered, that they must first hear him speak, and then they would do as they should see cause.

Mr. Eaton was displeased at this, and went away discontented, etc., and, being after called into the court to make answer to the information, which had been given by some who knew the truth of the case, and also to answer for his neglect and cruelty, and other ill usage towards his scholars, one of the elders (not suspecting such miscarriages by him) came to the governor, and showed himself much grieved, that he should be publicly produced, alleging, that it would derogate from his authority and reverence among his scholars, etc. But the cause went on notwithstanding, and he was called, and these things laid to his charge in the open court. His answers were full of pride and disdain, telling the magistrates, that they should not need to do any thing herein, for he was intended to leave his employment. And being asked, why he used such cruelty to Briscoe his usher, and to other his scholars (for it was testified by another of his ushers and divers of his scholars, that he would give them between twenty and thirty stripes at a time, and would not leave till they had confessed what he required), his answer was, that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting till he had subdued the party to his will.

Being also questioned about the ill and scant diet of his boarders (for, though their friends gave large

allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely), he put it off to his wife. So the court dismissed him at present, and commanded him to attend again the next day, when, being called, he was commanded to the lower end of the table (where all offenders do usually stand), and, being openly convict of all the former offences, by the oaths of four or five witnesses, he yet continued to justify himself; so, it being near night, he was committed to the marshal till the next day. When the court was set in the morning, many of the elders came into the court (it being then private for matter of consultation,) and declared how, the evening before, they had taken pains with him, to convince him of his faults; yet, for divers hours, he had still stood to his justification; but, in the end, he was convinced, and had freely and fully acknowledged his sin, and that with tears; so as they did hope he had truly repented, and therefore desired of the court that he might be pardoned, and continued in his employment, alleging such further reasons as they thought fit.

After the elders were departed, the court consulted about it, and sent for him, and there, in the open court, before a great assembly, he made a very solid, wise, eloquent, and serious (seeming) confession, condemning himself in all the particulars, etc. Whereupon, being put aside, the court consulted privately about his sentence, and, though many were taken with his confession, and none but had a charitable opinion of it; yet, because of the scandal of religion, and offence which would be given to such as might intend to send their children hither, they all agreed to censure him, and put him from that employment.

So, being called in, the governor, after a short preface, etc., declared the sentence of the court to this effect, viz., that he should give Briscoe £30, be fined 100 marks, and debarred teaching of children within our jurisdiction. A pause being made, and expectation that (according to his former confession) he would have given glory to God, and acknowledged the justice and clemency of the court, the governor giving him occasion, by asking him if he had aught to say, he turned away with a discontented look, saying, “If sentence be passed, then it is to no end to speak.” Yet the court remitted his fine to £20, and willed Briscoe to take but £20.

The church at Cambridge, taking notice of these proceedings, intended to deal with him. The pastor moved the governor, if they might, without offence to the court, examine other witnesses. His answer was, that the court would leave them to their own liberty; but he saw not to what end they should do it, seeing there had been five already upon oath, and those whom they should examine should speak without oath, and it was an ordinance of God, that by the mouths of two or three witnesses every matter should be established. But he soon discovered himself; for, ere the church could come to deal with him, he fled to Pascataquack, and, being pursued and apprehended by the governor there, he again acknowledged his great sin in flying, etc., and promised (as he was a Christian man) he would return with the messengers. But, because his things he carried with him were aboard a bark there, bound to Virginia, he desired leave to go fetch them, which they assented unto, and went with him (three of them) aboard

with him. So he took his truss and came away with them in the boat; but, being come to the shore, and two of them going out of the boat, he caused the boatmen to put off the boat, and because the third man would not go out, he turned him into the water, where he had been drowned, if he had not saved himself by swimming. So he returned to the bark, and presently they set sail and went out of the harbor.

Being thus gone, his creditors began to complain; and thereupon it was found, that he was run in debt about £1000, and had taken up most of this money upon bills he had charged into England upon his brother's agents, and others whom he had no such relation to. So his estate was seized, and put into commissioners' hands, to be divided among his creditors, allowing somewhat for the present maintenance of his wife and children. And, being thus gone, the church proceeded and cast him out. He had been sometimes initiated among the Jesuits, and, coming into England, his friends drew him from them, but, it was very probable, he now intended to return to them again, being at this time about thirty years of age, and upwards.

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1640.] Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, of whom mention is made before, being come to Virginia, took upon him to be a minister, but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken, as the custom is there. He sent for his wife and children. Her friends here persuaded her to stay awhile, but she went notwithstanding, and the vessel was never heard of after.

## ITEMS FROM WINTHROP'S HISTORY.

1631. JUNE 14.] At this court one Philip Ratcliff, <sup>US</sup> a servant of Mr. Cradock, being convict, *ore tenus*, of <sup>Free</sup> most foul, scandalous invectives against our churches <sup>spee</sup> and government, was censured to be whipped, lose his ears, and be banished from the plantation, which was presently executed.

1632.] At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake ; and after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, <sup>Relig</sup> Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of <sup>in A</sup> it, gave this interpretation : That the snake was the <sup>Thir</sup> devil ; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his Kingdom.

1633.] Two little girls of the governor's family were sitting under a great heap of logs, plucking of birds, and the wind driving the feathers into the house, the governor's wife caused them to remove <sup>Ditto</sup> away. They were no sooner gone, but the whole heap of logs fell down in the place, and had crushed them to death, if the Lord, in his special providence, had not delivered them.

Aug. 6.] Two men servants to one Moodye, of Roxbury, returning in a boat from the windmill, struck upon the oyster bank. They went out to <sup>11</sup> gather oysters, and not making fast their boat, when the flood came, it floated away, and they were both drowned, although they might have waded out on either side ; but it was an evident judgment of God upon them, for they were wicked persons. . . .

1634.] One Abigail Gifford, widow, being kept at the charge of the parish of Wilsden in Middlesex, near London, was sent by Mr. Bull's ship into this country, and being found to be sometimes distracted, and a very burdensome woman, the governor and assistants returned her back by warrant, 18, to the same parish, in the ship Rebecca.

1639.] There happened a memorable thing at Plymouth about this time. One Keysar, of Lynn, being at Plymouth in his boat, and one Dickerson with him, a professor, but a notorious thief, was coming out of the harbor with the ebb, and the wind southerly, a fresh gale; yet, with all their skill and labor, they could not in three hours, get the boat above one league, so as they were forced to come to an anchor, and, at the flood, to go back to the town, and, as soon as they were come in, the said Dickerson was arrested upon suspicion of a gold ring and some other pieces of gold, which, upon search, were found about him, and he was then whipped for it, . . . These and many other examples of discovering hypocrites and other lewd persons, and bringing them under their deserved punishments, do (among other things) show the presence of power of God in his ordinances, and his blessing upon his people while they endeavor to walk before him with uprightness.

1640.] At the court of assistants, one Hugh Bewett was banished for holding publicly and maintaining that he was free from original sin and from actual also for half a year before, and that all true christians after . . . are enabled to live without committing actual sin.

1640.] About this time there fell out a thing

worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Common Prayer were bound together. He found the Common Prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand. *Religion view all the*

1641.] A young man, a tanner in Boston, going to wash himself in a creek, said, jestingly, I will go and drown myself now, which fell out accordingly ; for by the slipperiness of the earth, he was carried beyond his depth, and having no skill to swim, was drowned, though company were at hand, and one in the water with him.

1642.] Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge ; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. The General Court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz. all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the president, or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students' encouragement, etc., and it gave good content to all.

1645.] Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him (a godly young woman, and of special parts), who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been

growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her ; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her. He brought her to Boston, and left her with her brother, one Mr. Yale, a merchant, to try what means might be had here for her. But no help could be had.

1645.] At Ipswich there was a calf brought forth with one head and three mouths, three noses, and six eyes. What these prodigies portended the Lord only knows, which in his due time he will manifest.

1646.] Mention was made before of some beginning to instruct the Indians, etc. Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church of Roxbury, found such encouragement, as he took great pains to get their language, and in a few months could speak of the things of God to their understanding ; and God prospered his endeavors, so as he kept a constant lecture to them in two places, one week at the wigwam of one Wabon, a new sachem near Watertown mill, and the other the next week in the wigwam of Cutshamekin near Dorchester mill. And for the furtherance of the work of God, divers of the English resorted to his lecture, and the governor and other of the magistrates and elders sometimes ; and the Indians began to repair thither from other parts.

*Indian  
labors*

His manner of proceeding was thus : he would persuade one of the other elders or some magistrate to begin the exercise with prayer in English ; then he took a text, and read it first in the Indian language, and after in English ; then he preached to them in Indian about an hour (but first I should have spoke of the catechising their children, who were soon brought to answer him some short questions, whereupon he gave each of them an apple or a cake) ; then he demanded of some of the chiefs, if they understood him ; if they answered, yea, then he asked of them if they had any questions to propound. And they had usually two or three or more questions, which he did resolve.

At one time (when the governor was there and about two hundred people, Indian and English, in one wigwam of Cutshamekin's) an old man asked him, if God would receive such an old man as he was ; to whom he answered by opening the parable of the workmen that were hired into the vineyard ; and when he had opened it, he asked the old man, if he did believe it, who answered he did, and was ready to weep. . . .

The Indians were usually very attentive, and kept their children so quiet as caused no disturbance. Some of them began to be seriously affected, and to understand the things of God, and they were generally ready to reform whatsoever they were told to be against the word of God, as their sorcery (which they call powwowing), their whoredoms, etc., idleness, etc. The Indians grew very inquisitive after knowledge both in things divine and also human, so as one of them, meeting with an honest plain Englishman,

would needs know of him, what were the first beginnings (which we call principles) of a commonwealth. The Englishman, being far short in the knowledge of such matters, yet ashamed that an Indian should find an Englishman ignorant of any thing, bethought himself what answer to give him, at last resolved upon this, viz., that the first principle of a commonwealth was salt, for (saith he) by means of salt we can keep our flesh and fish, to have it ready when we need it, whereas you lose much for want of it, and are sometimes ready to starve. A second principle is iron, for thereby we fell trees, build houses, till our land, etc. A third is, ships, by which we carry forth such commodities as we have to spare, and fetch in such as we need, as cloth, wine, etc. Alas ! (saith the Indian) then I fear, we shall never be a commonwealth, for we can neither make salt, nor iron, nor ships.

1648.] . . . God will be sanctified in them that come near him. Two others were the children of one of the church of Boston. While their parents were at the lecture, the boy (being about seven years of age), having a small staff in his hand, ran down upon the ice towards a boat he saw, and the ice breaking, he fell in, but his staff kept him up, till his sister, about fourteen years old, ran down to save her brother (though there were four men at hand, and called to her not to go, being themselves hasting to save him) and so drowned herself and him also, being past recovery ere the men could come at them, and could easily reach ground with their feet. The parents had no more sons, and confessed they had been too indulgent towards him, and had set their hearts overmuch upon him.

This puts me in mind of another child very strangely drowned a little before winter. The parents were also members of the church of Boston. The father had undertaken to maintain the mill-dam, and being at work upon it (with some help he had hired), in the afternoon of the last day of the week, night came upon them before they had finished what they intended, and his conscience began to put him in mind of the Lord's day, and he was troubled, yet went on and wrought an hour within night. The next day, after evening exercise, and after they had supped, the mother put two children to bed in the room where themselves did lie, and they went out to visit a neighbor. When they returned, they continued about an hour in the room, and missed not the child, but then the mother going to the bed, and not finding her youngest child (a daughter about five years of age), after much search she found it drowned in a well in her cellar ; which was very observable, as by a special hand of God, that the child should go out of that room into another in the dark, and then fall down at a trap-door, or go down the stairs, and so into the well in the farther end of the cellar, the top of the well and the water being even with the ground. But the father, freely in the open congregation, did acknowledge it the righteous hand of God for his profaning his holy day against the checks of his own conscience.

## WINTHROP ON LIBERTY.

[FROM THE SAME.]

1645.] THE court of elections was held at Boston. Mr. Thomas Dudley was chosen governor, Mr. Winthrop, deputy governor again, and Mr. Endecott, serjeant major general. Mr. Israel Stoughton, having been in England the year before, and now gone again about his private occasions, was by vote left out, and Herbert Pelham, Esquire, chosen an assistant.

This court fell out a troublesome business, which took up much time. The town of Hingham, having one Emes their lieutenant seven or eight years, had lately chosen him to be their captain, and had presented him to the standing council for allowance ; but, before it was accomplished, the greater part of the town took some light occasion of offence against him, and chose one Allen to be their captain, and presented him to the magistrates (in the time of the last general court) to be allowed. But the magistrates, considering the injury that would hereby accrue to Emes (who had been their chief commander so many years, and had deserved well in his place, and that Allen had no other skill but what he learned from Emes), refused to allow of Allen, but willed both sides to return home, and every officer to keep his place until the court should take further order. Upon their return home, the messengers, who came for Allen, called a private meeting of those of their own party, and told them truly what answer they received from the magistrates, and soon after they appointed a training day

(without their lieutenant's knowledge), and, being assembled, the lieutenant hearing of it came to them, and would have exercised them, as he was wont to do, but those of the other party refused to follow him, except he would show them some order for it. He told them of the magistrates' order about it; the others replied that authority had advised him to go home and lay down his place honorably. Another asked what the magistrates had to do with them. Another, that it was but three or four of the magistrates, and, if they had been all there, it had been nothing, for Mr. Allen had brought more for them from the deputies than the lieutenant had from the magistrates. Another of them professteth he will die at the sword's point if he might not have the choice of his own officers. Another (*viz.*, the clerk of the band) stands up above the people, and requires them to vote whether they would bear them out in what was past and what was to come. This being assented unto, and the tumult continuing, one of the officers (he who had told them that authority had advised the lieutenant to go home and lay down his place) required Allen to take the captain's place; but, he not then accepting it, they put it to the vote whether he should be their captain. The vote passing for it, he then told the company it was now past question; and thereupon Allen accepted it, and exercised the company two or three days, only about a third part of them followed the lieutenant. He, having denied in the open field that authority had advised him to lay down his place, and putting (in some sort) the lie upon those who had so reported, was the next Lord's day called to answer it before the church; and, he standing to main-

tain what he had said, five witnesses were produced to convince him. Some of them affirmed the words, the others explained their meaning to be that one magistrate had so advised him. He denied both. Whereupon the pastor, one Mr. Hubbert (brother to three of the principal in this sedition), was very forward to have excommunicated the lieutenant presently ; but, upon some opposition, it was put off to the next day. Thereupon the lieutenant and some three or four more of the chief men of the town inform four of the next magistrates of these proceedings, who forthwith met at Boston about it (viz., the deputy governor, the serjeant major general, the secretary, and Mr. Hibbins). These, considering the case, sent warrant to the constable to attach some of the principal offenders (viz., three of the Hubbards and two more) to appear before them at Boston, to find sureties for their appearance at the next court, etc. Upon the day they came to Boston ; but their said brother the minister came before them, and fell to expostulate with the said magistrates about the said cause, complaining against the complainants, as talebearers, etc., taking it very disdainfully that his brethren should be sent for by a constable, with other high speeches, which were so provoking, as some of the magistrates told him, that, were it not for respect to his ministry, they would commit him. When his brethren and the rest were come in, the matters of the information were laid to their charge, which they denied for the most part. So they were bound over (each for other) to the next court of assistants. After this five others were sent for by summons (these were only for speaking untruths of the magistrates in the church). They came before

the deputy governor, when he was alone, and demanded the cause of their sending for, and to know their accusers. The deputy told them so much of the cause as he could remember, and referred them to the secretary for a copy, and for their accusers he told them they knew both the men and the matter, neither was a judge bound to let a criminal offender know his accusers before the day of trial, but only in his own discretion, least the accuser might be taken off or perverted, etc. Being required to give bond for their appearance, etc., they refused. The deputy labored to let them see their error, and gave them time to consider of it. About fourteen days after, seeing two of them in the court (which was kept by those four magistrates for smaller causes), the deputy required them again to enter bond for their appearance, etc., and upon their second refusal committed them in that open court.

The general court falling out before the court of assistants, the Hubberts and the two which were committed, and others of Hingham, about ninety (whereof Mr. Hubbert their minister was the first), presented a petition to the general court. . . .

The day appointed being come, the court assembled in the meeting house at Boston. Divers of the elders were present, and a great assembly of people. The deputy governor, coming in with the rest of the magistrates, placed himself beneath within the bar, and so sat uncovered. Some question was in the court about his being in that place (for many both of the court and the assembly were grieved at it). But the deputy telling them that, being criminally accused, he might not sit as a judge in that cause, and, if he were

upon the bench, it would be a great disadvantage to him, for he could not take that liberty to plead the cause, which he ought to be allowed at the bar, upon this the court was satisfied.

The petitioners having declared their grievances, etc., the deputy craved leave to make answer. . . .

Hereupon the court proceeded to examine the whole cause. The deputy justified all the particulars laid to his charge, as that upon credible information of such a mutinous practice, and open disturbance of the peace, and slighting of authority, the offenders were sent for, the principal by warrant to the constable to bring them, and others by summons, and that some were bound over to the next court of assistants, and others that refused to be bound were committed; and all this according to the equity of laws here established, and the custom and laws of England, and our constant practice here these fifteen years. And for some speeches he was charged with as spoken to the delinquents, when they came before him at his house, when none were present with him but themselves, first he appealed to the judgment of the court, whether delinquents may be received as competent witnesses against a magistrate in such a case; then, for the words themselves, some he justified, some he explained so as no advantage could be taken of them, as that he should say that the magistrates could try some criminal causes without a jury, that he knew no law of God or man which required a judge to make known to the party his accusers (or rather witnesses) before the cause came to hearing. But two of them charged him to have said that it was against the law of God and man so to do, which had

been absurd; for the deputy professed he knew no law against it, only a judge may sometimes, in discretion, conceal their names, etc., least they should be tampered with or conveyed out of the way, etc.

Two of the magistrates and many of the deputies were of opinion that the magistrates exercised too much power, and that the people's liberty was thereby in danger; and other of the deputies (being about half) and all the rest of the magistrates were of a different judgment, and that authority was overmuch slighted, which, if not timely remedied, would endanger the commonwealth, and bring us to a mere democracy. By occasion of this difference, there was not so orderly carriage at the hearing as was meet, each side striving unseasonably to enforce the evidence, and declaring their judgments thereupon, which should have been reserved to a more private debate (as after it was), so as the best part of two days was spent in this public agitation and examination of witnesses, etc. This being ended, a committee was chosen of magistrates and deputies who stated the case, as it appeared upon the whole pleading and evidence, though it cost much time, and with great difficulty did the committee come to accord upon it. . . .

The deputies finding themselves now at the wall, and not daring to trust the elders with the cause, they sent to desire that six of themselves might come and confer with the magistrates, which being granted, they came, and at last came to this agreement; viz., the chief petitioners and the rest of the offenders were severally fined (all their fines not amounting to 50 pounds), the rest of the petitioners to bear equal share to 50 pounds more towards the charges of the court

(two of the principal offenders were the deputies of the town, Joshua Hubbert and Bozone Allen, the first was fined 20 pounds, and the other 5 pounds), lieutenant Emes to be under admonition, the deputy governor to be legally and publicly acquit of all that was laid to his charge.

According to this agreement, presently after the lecture the magistrates and deputies took their places in the meeting house, and the people being come together, and the deputy governor placing himself within the bar, as at the time of the hearing, etc., the governor read the sentence of the court, without speaking any more, for the deputies had (by importunity) obtained a promise of silence from the magistrates. Then was the deputy governor desired by the court to go up and take his place again upon the bench, which he did accordingly, and, the court being about to arise, he desired leave for a little speech, which was to this effect: —

I suppose something may be expected from me upon this charge that is befallen me, which moves me to speak now to you; yet I intend not to intermeddle in the proceedings of the court, or with any of the persons concerned therein. Only I bless God that I see an issue of this troublesome business. I also acknowledge the justice of the court, and, for mine own part, I am well satisfied, I was publicly charged, and I am publicly and legally acquitted, which is all I did expect or desire. And though this be sufficient for my justification before men, yet not so before the God who hath seen so much amiss in my dispensations (and even in this affair) as calls me to be hum-

ble. For to be publicly and criminally charged in this court is matter of humiliation (and I desire to make a right use of it), notwithstanding I be thus acquitted. If her father had spit in her face (saith the Lord concerning Miriam), should she not have been ashamed seven days? Shame had lien upon her, whatever the occasion had been. I am unwilling to stay you from your urgent affairs, yet give me leave (upon this special occasion) to speak a little more to this assembly. It may be of some good use to inform and rectify the judgments of some of the people, and may prevent such distempers as have arisen amongst us. The great questions that have troubled the country are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and, being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider that, when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore, when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our

best skill. When you agree with a workman to build you a ship or house, etc., he undertakes as well for his skill as for his faithfulness; for it is his profession, and you pay him for both. But, when you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess nor undertake to have sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, etc., therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for. If it fall out that the case be clear to common apprehension, and the rule clear also, if he transgress here, the error is not in the skill, but in the evil of the will: it must be required of him. But if the case be doubtful, or the rule doubtful, to men of such understanding and parts as your magistrates are, if your magistrates should err here, yourselves must bear it.

For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists: it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores*. This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may

also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions, amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet, being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband; his yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments; and if through frowardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off, at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit until she take it up again; and whether her lord smiles upon her, and embraceth her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us. Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magistrates. If you stand for your

natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

The deputy governor having ended his speech, the court arose, and the magistrates and deputies retired to attend their other affairs.

## LETTERS TO AND FROM WINTHROP AND HIS WIFE.

A LETTER WRITTEN BY JOHN WINTHROP TO HIS  
THIRD WIFE, MARGARET, APRIL 3, 1630.

MY love, my joy, my faithful one, I suppose thou didst not expect to have any more letters from me till the return of our ships; but so is the good pleasure of God, that the wind should not serve yet to carry us hence. He will do all things in his own time, and that shall be for the best in the end. We acknowledge it a great mercy to us, that we went not out to sea on Monday, when the wind was fair for

one day ; for we had been exposed, ever since, to sore tempests and contrary winds. I praise God, we are all in good health, and want nothing. For myself, I was never at more liberty of body and mind these many years. The Lord make me thankful and wise to improve his blessings for the furtherance of his own work. I desire to resign myself wholly to his gracious disposing. Oh that I had an heart so to do, and to trust perfectly in him for his assistance in all our ways. We find him still going along with us. He hath brought in the heart of the master of our ship to afford us all good respect, and to join with us in every good action. Yesterday he caused his seamen to keep a fast with us, wherein the Lord assisted us and our minister very comfortably ; and when five of the clock came, I had respite to remember thee (it being Friday), and to parley with thee, and to meet thee in spirit before the Lord. . . .

I am uncertain whether I shall have opportunity to send these to thee ; for, if the wind turn, we shall soon be gone. Therefore I will not write much. I know it will be sufficient for thy present comfort, to hear of our welfare ; and this is the third letter I have written to thee, since I came to Hampton, in requital of those two I received from thee, which I do often read with much delight, apprehending so much love and sweet affection in them, as I am never satisfied with reading, nor can read them without tears ; but whether they proceed from joy, sorrow, or desire, or from that consent of affection which I always hold with thee, I cannot conceive. Ah, my dear heart, I ever held thee in high esteem, as thy love and goodness hath well deserved ; but (if it be possible) I shall

yet prize thy virtue at a greater rate, and long more to enjoy thy sweet society than ever before. I am sure thou art not short of me in this desire. Let us pray hard, and pray in faith, and our God, in his good time, will accomplish our desire. Oh, how loath am I to bid thee farewell ! but, since it must be, farewell, my sweet love, farewell. Farewell, my dear children and family. The Lord bless you all, and grant me to see your faces once again. Come (my dear), take him and let him rest in thine arms, who will ever remain,

Thy faithful husband

JO. WINTHROP.

Commend my love to all our friends at Castleins, Mr. Leigh and his wife, my neighbor Cole and his wife, and all the rest of our good friends and neighbors, and our good friends at Maplested, when you see them, and those our worthy and kind friends at Assington, etc. My brother Arthur hath carried himself very soberly since he came on shipboard, and so hath Mr. Brand's son, and my cousin Ro. Sampson. I hope their friends shall hear well of them.

From aboard the *Arbella*, riding before Yarmouth,  
in the Isle of Wight, April 3, 1630.

*To my very loving Wife, MRS. WINTHROP, }*  
*the elder, at Groton, in Suffolk, d'd. }*

## MRS. WINTHROP TO HER HUSBAND.

DEAR in my thoughts, I blush to think how much I have neglected the opportunity of presenting my love to you. Sad thoughts possess my spirits, and I cannot repulse them ; which makes me unfit for any thing, wondering what the Lord means by all these troubles among us. Sure I am, that all shall work to the best to them that love God, or rather are loved of him. I know he will bring light out of obscurity, and make his righteousness shine forth as clear as the noonday. Yet I find in myself an adverse spirit, and a trembling heart, not co-willing to submit to the will of God as I desire. There is a time to plant, and a time to pull up that which is planted, which I could desire might not be yet. But the Lord knoweth what is best, and his will be done. But I will write no more. Hoping to see thee to-morrow, my best affections being commended to yourself, the rest of our friends at Newton, I commend thee to God.

Your loving wife,

MARGARET WINTHROP.

*Sad Boston, 1637.*

*To her honored Husband, }  
these be delivered. }*

## THE BAY PSALM BOOK.

THE *Bay Psalm Book* has the distinction of being the first *book* published in British America. It was the joint product of Richard Mather, founder of that distinguished family of New England divines, Thomas Welde and John Eliot, the missionary to the Indians. It was printed by Stephen Daye at Cambridge in 1640, was amended in 1650, and remained in general use for many years among the New England clergy. The question as to whether it was right to sing to the Lord with a cheerful voice or any other continued to be a subject of bitter controversy, in which John Cotton took the more liberal side. Although modern hymnbooks contain verses hardly less painful to the cultivated ear, it is hard to realize how such a crude performance could have ministered to edification, for it outdid Sternhold and Hopkins in harsh crudity of style, metre and rhythm. Yet it was the product of university men. Mather had been a student at Oxford; John Eliot was a graduate of Cambridge. They must have served their apprenticeship at Latin verse-making, and it is incredible that they should not have been able to write better English verse had they so desired. But they were determined that the Lord's praises should be sung according to his own will, and with their ideas of literal Biblical inspiration, they were willing to sacrifice every element of poetry to what they imagined was faithfulness to

Hebrew originals. They tell us in their preface that they “attempted conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry.” That they thought these qualities contradictory illustrates the fatal flaw in Puritan æsthetics. How numbing this moral discipline had been to the harmonies and amenities of life may be judged from the fact that few congregations knew more than five tunes, and but ten are known to have been used for the first half-century of the *Bay Psalm Book’s* existence.

[FROM THE PREFACE.]

IF therefore the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect ; let them consider that God’s Altar needs not our polishings : Ex. 20. for we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and so have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the Hebrew words into English language, and David’s poetry into English metre ; that so we may sing in Sion the Lord’s songs of praise according to his own will ; until he take us from hence, and wipe away all our tears, and bid us enter into our master’s joy to sing eternal Halleluiahs.

## PSALM XXIII.

A PSALM OF DAVID.

- THE earth Jehovah's is,  
and the fulness of it :  
the habitable world, and they  
that there upon do sit.
- 2 Because upon the seas,  
he hath it firmly laid :  
and it upon the water-floods  
most solidly hath staid.
- 3 The mountain of the Lord,  
who shall thereto ascend ?  
and in his place of holiness  
who is it that shall stand ?
- 4 The clean in hands, and pure  
in heart ; to vanity  
who hath not lifted up his soul,  
nor sworn deceitfully.
- 5 From God he shall receive  
a benediction,  
and righteousness from the strong-God  
of his salvation.
- 6 This is the progeny  
of them that seek thy face :  
of them that do inquire for him :  
of Iacob 'tis the race. Selah.
- 7 Ye gates lift-up your heads,  
and doors everlasting,  
be ye lift up : and there into  
shall come the glorious-King.

- 8 Who is this glorious-King ?  
Iehovah, puissant,  
and valiant, Iehovah is  
in battle valiant.
- 9 Ye gates lift-up your heads,  
and doors everlasting,  
do ye lift-up : and there into  
shall come the glorious-King.
- 10 Who is this glorious-King ?  
lo, it is Iehovah  
of warlike armies, he the King  
of glory is ; Selah.

## PSALM XXIX.

A PSALM OF DAVID.

- UNTO the Lord do ye ascribe  
(o Sonnes of the mighty)  
unto the Lord do ye ascribe  
glory and potency.
- 2 Unto the Lord do ye ascribe  
his name's glorious renown,  
in beauty of his holiness  
unto the Lord bow down.
- 3 The mighty voice of Iehovah  
upon the waters is :  
the God of glory thundereth,  
God on great waters is.
- 4 Iehovah's voice is powerful,  
God's voice is glorious,
- 5 God's voice breaks cedars : yea God breaks  
cedars of Lebanon.

- 6 He makes them like a calf to skip :  
    *the mountain Lebanon,*  
and like to a young Unicorn  
    *the hill of Syrion.*
- 7 God's voice divides the flames of fire.
- 8 Jehovah's voice doth make  
the desert shake : the Lord doth cause  
    the Cadesh-desert shake.
- 9 The Lord's voice makes the hinds to calve,  
and makes the forest bare :  
and in his temple every one  
    his glory doth declare.
- 10 The Lord sate on the floods : the Lord  
    for ever sits as King.
- 11 God to his folk gives strength : the Lord  
    his folk with peace blessing.

## PSALM LXIII.

A Psalm of David, when he was in the wilderness of Judah.

- O God, thou art my God, early  
    I will for thee inquire :  
my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh  
    for thee hath strong desire,  
In land whereas no water is  
    that thirsty is and dry.
- 2 To see, as I saw in thine house  
    thy strength and thy glory.
- 3 Because thy loving kindness doth  
    abundantly excel  
ev'n life itself : wherefore my lips  
    forth shall thy praises tell

- 4 Thus will I blessing give to thee  
whilst that alive am I :  
and in thy name I will lift up  
these hands of mine on high.
- 5 My soul as with marrow and fat  
shall satisfied be :  
my mouth also with joyful lips  
shall praise give unto thee.
- 6 When as that I remembrance have  
of thee my bed upon,  
and on thee in the night watches  
have meditation.
- 7 Because that thou hast been to me  
he that to me help brings ;  
therefore will I sing joyfully  
in shadow of thy wings.
- 8 My soul out of an ardent love  
doth follow after thee :  
also thy right hand it is that  
which hath upholden me.
- 9 But as for those that seek my soul  
to bring it to an end,  
they shall into the lower parts  
of the earth down descend.
- 10 By the hand of the sword also  
they shall be made to fall :  
and they be for a portion  
unto the foxes shall.
- 11 But the King shall rejoice in God,  
all that by him do swear  
shall glory, but stopped shall be  
their mouths that liars are.

## PSALM CXXXVII.

- 1 The rivers on of Babilon,  
there where we did sit down,  
Yea even then we mourned when  
we remembered Sion.
- 2 Our harp we did hang it amid,  
Upon the willow tree,
- 3 Because there they that us away  
led in captivity  
Requir'd of us a song, and thus  
ask't mirth us waste who laid,  
Sing us among a Sion's song,  
unto us then they said.
- 4 The Lord's song sing can we? being  
in stranger's land, then let
- 5 lose her skill my right hand if I  
Jerusalem forget.
- 6 Let cleave my tongue my palate on  
if mind thee do not I,  
if chief joys o'er I prize not more  
Jerusalem my joy.
- 7 Remember Lord, Edom's sons' word,  
unto the ground said they,  
it raze, it raze, when as it was  
Jerusalem her day.
- 8 Blest shall he be that payeth thee  
daughter of Babilon,  
who must be waste, that which thou hast  
rewarded us upon.
- 9 O happy he shall surely be  
that taketh up, that eke  
thy little ones against the stones  
doth into pieces break.

## JOHN UNDERHILL.

JOHN UNDERHILL, one of the annalists of the Pequot War, was born in Warwickshire, England, it is not known when, and died at Oyster Bay, Long Island, about 1672. He had served in the Netherlands and at Cadiz before his advent in New England with John Winthrop. He soon took a prominent place in the Puritan colony and was representative in the Assembly. Appointed by Sir Henry Vane to be Commander of the Colony's troops, he conducted their operations so efficiently as utterly to break the power of the Pequot Indians in the campaign described with much verve in his brief *News from America* (1638). His companion in this undertaking was Captain John Mason, who will speak for himself presently. His religious opinions and private morals were less acceptable to the colony than his soldierly qualities. He was banished from Boston, and went to England, where we find him in 1641 governor of Exeter and Dover. He returned, however, to America, settling first in Stamford, Conn., then in Flushing, L.I., having in the meantime held an important command in the hostilities carried on by the Colonies against the Indians and Dutch. He was prominent in public affairs until his death. His destruction of the Pequots was so warmly appreciated by the rival Mantinenc Indians, that they presented him with 150 acres of

Banish

Return

*Pocritica* land, still held by his descendants. Underhill is most remarkable for his skill in discerning special providences, and in laying to his soul the flattering uncti<sup>on</sup> of godliness, while abetting cruel barbarities.

## HOW UNDERHILL ESCAPED DEATH AT BLOCK ISLAND.

[FROM "NEWS FROM AMERICA OR A LATE EXPERIMENTAL DISCOVERY OF NEW-ENGLAND," 1638.]

DRAWING near to the place of landing, the number that rose from behind the barricado were between fifty or sixty able fighting men — men as straight as arrows, very tall, and of active bodies — having their arrows notched. They drew near to the water-side, and let fly at the soldiers, as though they had meant to have made an end of us all in a moment. They shot a young gentleman in the neck through a collar for stiffness as if it had been an oaken board, and entered his flesh a good depth. Myself received an arrow through my coat-sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead ; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me, (which I was unwilling to do,) I had been slain. Give me leave to observe two things from hence : first, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated ; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman. It were strange to nature to think a man should be bound to fulfil the humor of a woman, what arms he should

carry ; but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man. What with Delilah's flattery, and with her mournful tears, they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes along in the matter ; and this is to accomplish his own will. Therefore let the clamor be quenched I daily hear in my ears, that New-England men usurp over their wives, and keep them in servile subjection. The country is wronged in this matter, as in many things else. Let this precedent satisfy the doubtful, for that comes from the example of a rude soldier. If they be so courteous to their wives, as to take their advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender, affectionate husband to honor his wife as the weaker vessel ! Yet mistake not. I say not that they are bound to call their wives in council, though they are bound to take their private advice (so far as they see it make for their advantage and their good). Instance Abraham. But to the matter : The arrows flying thick about us, we made haste to the shore ; but the surf of the sea being great, hindered us, so as we could scarce discharge a musket, but were forced to make haste to land. Drawing near the shore through the strength of wind, and the hollowness of the sea, we durst not adventure to run ashore, but were forced to wade up to the middle ; but once having got up off our legs, we gave fire upon them. They finding our bullets to outreach their arrows, they fled before us. In the meanwhile Colonel Hindecot made to the shore, and some of this number also repulsed him at his landing, but hurt no one. We thought they would stand it out with us, but they perceiving we were in earnest, fled, and left their wigwams, or houses, and provision

to the use of our soldiers. Having set forth our sentinels, and laid out our pardues, we betook ourselves to the guard, expecting hourly they would fall upon us ; but they observed the old rule, “ ’Tis good sleeping in a whole skin,” and left us free from an alarm.

## THE RESULTS OF AN EMBASSY.

[FROM THE SAME.]

THE Pequeats having slain one Captain Norton, and Captain Stone, with seven more of their company, order was given us to visit them, sailing along the Nahanticot shore with five vessels. The Indians, spying of us, came running in multitudes along the water-side, crying, “ What cheer, Englishmen, what cheer ? What do you come for ? ” They, not thinking we intended war, went on cheerfully until they came to Pequeat river. We, thinking it the best way, did forbear to answer them ; first, that we might the better be able to run through the work ; secondly, that by delaying of them, we might drive them in security, to the end we might have the more advantage of them. But they, seeing we would make no answer, kept on their course, and cried, “ What, Englishmen, what cheer, what cheer, are you hog-gery, will you cram us ? ” That is, “ Are you angry, will you kill us, and do you come to fight ? ” That night the Nanhanticot Indians and the Pequeats made fires on both sides of the river, fearing we would land in the night. They made most doleful and woful cries all the night, (so that we could scarce rest,)

hallowing one to another, and giving the word from place to place, to gather their forces together, fearing the English were come to war against them.

The next morning they sent early aboard an ambassador, a grave senior, a man of good understanding, portly carriage, grave and majestic in his expressions. He demanded of us what the end of our coming was. To which we answered, that the governors of the Bay sent us to demand the heads of those persons that had slain Captain Norton and Captain Stone, and the rest of their company, and that it was not the custom of the English to suffer murderers to live ; and therefore, if they desired their own peace and welfare, they will peaceably answer our expectation, and give us the heads of the murderers.

They being a witty and ingenious nation, their ambassador labored to excuse the matter, and answered : “ We know not that any of ours have slain any English. True it is,” saith he, “ we have slain such a number of men ; but consider the ground of it. Not long before the coming of these English into the river, there was a certain vessel that came to us in way of trade. We used them well, and traded with them, and took them to be such as would not wrong us in the least matter. But our sachem or prince coming aboard, they laid a plot how they might destroy him ; which plot discovereth itself by the event, as followeth : They keeping their boat aboard, and not desirous of our company, gave us leave to stand hallooing ashore, that they might work their mischievous plot. But as we stood they called to us, and demanded of us a bushel of wampam-peke, which is their money. This they demanded for his

ransom. This peal did ring terrible in our ears, to demand so much for the life of our prince, whom we thought was in the hands of honest men, and we had never wronged them. But we saw there was no remedy ; their expectation must be granted, or else they would not send him ashore, which they promised they would do if we would answer their desires. We sent them so much aboard, according to demand, and they, according to their promise, sent him ashore, but first slew him. This much exasperated our spirits, and made us vow a revenge. Suddenly after came these captains with a vessel into the river, and pretended to trade with us, as the former did. We did not discountenance them for the present, but took our opportunity and came aboard.” The sachem’s son succeeding his father, was the man that came into the cabin of Captain Stone, and Captain Stone having drunk more than did him good, fell backwards on the bed asleep. The sagamore took his opportunity, and having a little hatchet under his garment, therewith knocked him in the head. Some being upon the deck and others under, suspected some such thing ; for the rest of the Indians that were aboard had orders to proceed against the rest at one time ; but the English, spying treachery, run immediately into the cook-room, and, with a fire-brand, had thought to have blown up the Indians by setting fire to the powder. These devil’s instruments spying this plot of the English, leaped overboard as the powder was a-firing, and saved themselves ; but all the English were blown up. This was the manner of their bloody action. Saith the ambassador to us, “ Could ye blame us for revenging so cruel a murder ? for we distinguished not between the Dutch

and English, but took them to be one nation, and therefore we do not conceive that we wronged you, for they slew our king ; and thinking these captains to be of the same nation and people as those that slew him, made us set upon this course of revenge.”

Our answer was : “ They were able to distinguish between Dutch and English, having had sufficient experience of both nations ; and therefore, seeing you have slain the king of England’s subjects, we come to demand an account of their blood, for we ourselves are liable to account for them.”

The answer of the ambassador was : “ We know no difference between the Dutch and the English ; they are both strangers to us ; we took them to be all one ; therefore we crave pardon ; we have not wilfully wronged the English.”

“ This excuse will not serve our turns, for we have sufficient testimony that you know the English from the Dutch. We must have the heads of those persons that have slain ours, or else we will fight with you.”

He answered : “ Understanding the ground of your coming, I will entreat you to give me liberty to go ashore, and I shall inform the body of the people what your intent and resolution is ; and if you will stay aboard, I will bring you a sudden answer.”

We did grant him liberty to get ashore, and ourselves followed suddenly after before the war was proclaimed. He seeing us land our forces, came with a message to entreat us to come no nearer, but stand in a valley, which had between us and them an ascent, that took our sight from them ; but they might see us to hurt us, to our prejudice. Thus, from the first

beginning to the end of the action, they carried themselves very subtly ; but we, not willing to be at their direction, marched up to the ascent, having set our men in battalia. He came and told us he had inquired for the sachem, that we might come to a parley ; but neither of both of the princes were at home ; they were gone to Long Island.

Our reply was : “ We must not be put off thus ; we know the sachem is in the plantation, and therefore bring him to us, that we may speak with him, or else we will beat up the drum, and march through the country and spoil your corn.”

His answer : “ If you will but stay a little while, I will step to the plantation and seek for them.”

We gave them leave to take their own course, and used as much patience as ever men might, considering the gross abuse they offered us, holding us above an hour in vain hopes. They sent an Indian to tell us that Mommenoteck was found, and would appear before us suddenly. This brought us to a new stand the space of an hour more. There came a third Indian persuading us to have a little further patience, and he would not tarry, for he had assembled the body of the Pequeats together, to know who the parties were that had slain these Englishmen. But seeing that they did in this interim convey away their wives and children, and bury their chiefest goods, we perceived at length they would fly from us ; but we were patient and bore with them, in expectation to have the greater blow upon them. The last messenger brought us this intelligence from the sachem, that if we would but lay down our arms, and approach about thirty paces from them, and meet the heathen

prince, he would cause his men to do the like, and then we shall come to a parley.

But we seeing their drift was to get our arms, we rather chose to beat up the drum and bid them battle. Marching into a champaign field, we displayed our colors ; but none would come near us, but, standing remotely off, did laugh at us for our patience. We suddenly set upon our march, and gave fire to as many as we could come near, firing their wigwams, spoiling their corn, and many other necessities that they had buried in the ground we raked up, which the soldiers had for booty. Thus we spent the day burning and spoiling the country. Towards night embarked ourselves. The next morning, landing on the Nahanticot shore, where we were served in like nature, no Indians would come near us, but run from us, as the deer from the dogs. But having burnt and spoiled what we could light on, we embarked our men and set sail for the Bay. Having ended this exploit, came off, having one man wounded in the leg ; but certain numbers of theirs slain, and many wounded.

This was the substance of the first year's service.

## THE ATTACK ON THE INDIAN FORT.

[FROM THE SAME.]

LET the ends and aims of a man be good, and he may proceed with courage. The bush may be in the fire, but so long as God appears to Moses out of the bush, there is no great danger. More good than hurt will come out of it. Christ knows how to honor

himself, and to do his people good, though it be by contrary means, which reason will not fathom. Look but to faith, and that will make us see plainly, that though afflictions for the present are grievous, as doubtless it was with these two captive maids,<sup>1</sup> yet sweet and comfortable is the issue with all Gods's saints, as it was with them. But to go on.

Having embarked our soldiers, we weighed anchor at Seabrooke Fort, and set sail for the Narraganset Bay, deluding the Pequeats thereby, for they expected us to fall into Pequeat River; but crossing their expectation, bred in them a security: we landed our men in the Narraganset Bay, and marched over land above two days journey before we came to Pequeat; quartering the last night's march within two miles of the place, we set forth about one of the clock in the morning, having sufficient intelligence that they knew nothing of our coming. Drawing near to the Fort yielded up ourselves to God, and entreated his assistance in so weighty an enterprise. We set on our march to surround the Fort, Captain John Mason, approaching to the west end, where it had an entrance to pass into it, myself marching to the south-side, surrounding the fort; placing the Indians, for we had about three hundred of them, without side of our soldiers in a ring battalia, giving a volley of shot upon the fort. So remarkable it appeared to us, as we could not but admire at the providence of God in it, that soldiers so unexpert in the use of their arms, should give so complete a volley, as though the finger of God had touched both match and flint: which volley being

<sup>1</sup> English girls taken by the Pequots and subsequently freed by exchange.

given at break of day, and themselves fast asleep for the most part, bred in them such a terror, that they brake forth into a most doleful cry, so as if God had not fitted the hearts of men for the service, it would have bred in them a commiseration towards them. But every man being bereaved of pity fell upon the work without compassion, considering the blood they had shed of our native country-men, and how barbarously they had dealt with them, and slain first and last about thirty persons. Having given fire, we approached near to the entrance which they had stopped full, with arms of trees, or brakes. Myself approaching to the entrance found the work too heavy for me, to draw out all those which were strongly forced in. We gave order to one Master Hedge, and some other soldiers to pull out those brakes, having this done, and laid them between me and the entrance, and without order themselves, proceeded first on the south end of the fort. But remarkable it was to many of us ; men that run before they are sent, most commonly have an ill reward. Worthy reader, let me entreat you to have a more charitable opinion of me (though unworthy to be better thought of) than is reported in the other book. You may remember there is a passage unjustly laid upon me, that when we should come to the entrance, I should put forth this question: Shall we enter? Others should answer again; What came we hither for else? It is well known to many, it was never my practice in time of my command, when we are in garrison, much to consult with a private soldier, or to ask his advice in point of war, much less in a matter of so great a moment as that was, which experience had often taught me,

was not a time to put forth such a question, and therefore pardon him that hath given the wrong information. Having our swords in our right hand, our carbines or muskets in our left hand, we approached the fort, Master Hedge being shot through both arms, and more wounded. Though it be not commendable for a man to make mention of any thing that might tend to his own honor ; yet because I would have the providence of God observed, and his name magnified, as well for myself as others, I dare not omit, but let the world know, that deliverance was given to us that command, as well as to private soldiers. Captain Mason and myself entering into the wigwams, he was shot and received many arrows against his head-piece, God preserved him from any wounds ; myself received a shot in the left hip, through a sufficient buff coat, that if I had not been supplied with such a garment, the arrow would have pierced through me ; another I received between neck and shoulders, hanging in the linen of my head-piece. Others of our soldiers were shot, some through the shoulders, some in the face, some in the head, some in the legs : Captain Mason and myself losing each of us a man, and had near twenty wounded. Most courageously these Pequeats behaved themselves: but seeing the fort was too hot for us, we devised a way how we might save ourselves and prejudice them. Captain Mason, entering into a wigwam, brought out a fire-brand, after he had wounded many in the house. Then he set fire on the west-side where he entered, myself set fire on the south end with a train of powder, the fires of both meeting in the centre of the fort blazed most terribly, and burnt all in the space of half

an hour. Many courageous fellows were unwilling to come out, and fought most desperately through the palisadoes, so as they were scorched and burnt with the very flame, and were deprived of their arms, in regard the fire burnt their very bowstrings, and so perished valiantly. Mercy they did deserve for their valor, could we have had opportunity to have bestowed it. Many were burnt in the fort, both men, women, and children. Others forced out, and came in troops to the Indians, twenty and thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword. Down fell men, women, and children: those that scaped us, fell into the hands of the Indians, that were in the rear of us; it is reported by themselves, that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. Great and doleful was the bloody sight to the view of young soldiers that never had been in war, to see so many souls lie gasping on the ground so thick in some places, that you could hardly pass along. It may be demanded, <sup>9</sup>Why should you be so furious (as some have said) should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would refer you to David's war, when a people is grown to such a height of blood, and sin against God and man, and all confederates in the action, there he hath no respect to persons, but harrows them, and saws them, and puts them to the sword, and the most terriblest death that may be: sometimes the Scripture declar-eth women and children must perish with their parents; some time the case alters: but we will not dispute it now. We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings. . . .

## JOHN MASON.

JOHN MASON, a captain in the Pequot War, was born in England in 1600, and died at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1672. Like Underhill, his companion in arms, he had seen service in the Netherlands before he came to America in 1630. After five years at Dorchester, he moved to Connecticut and was one of the founders of Windsor. Two years later, the attacks of the Pequot Indians on the colonists called for retaliatory measures ; and Mason, having been put at the head of ninety men, was instructed to attack the Indians at the mouth of the Pequot, now the Thames River. Securing the coöperation of the Mohegan and Narragansett Indians, timid and worthless allies, he attacked and destroyed the Pequot forts on the Mystic. This and subsequent engagements practically annihilated the tribe in Connecticut, and there was peace for forty years, for more than thirty of which Mason was major of the colonial troops, and from 1660 to 1670 Deputy Governor of Connecticut. He lived first at Saybrook, then at Norwich, exercising also the functions of a magistrate. His account of the war, prepared at the request of the Colonial General Court, was first published by Increase Mather (1677). It is impersonal, dignified, yet direct, and especially noteworthy for the Joshua-like confidence which it displays in Jehovah's personal, minute, and never

flagging interest in the Pequot campaign. A life of the sturdy soldier may be found in Sparks' *American Biography*.

## THE TAKING OF THE FORT AT MYSTIC.

[FROM "A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PEQUOT WAR."  
CIRCA 1670.]

. . . THERE was a great commander in Belgia who did the States great service in taking a city ; but by going beyond his commission lost his life. His name was Grubbendunk. But if a war be managed duly by judgment and discretion as is requisite, the shows are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue. Whereof the more an enterprise is dissembled and kept secret, the more facile to put in execution ; as the proverb, "The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home." I shall make bold to present this as my present thoughts in this case : In matters of war, those who are both able and faithful should be improved ; and then bind them not up into too narrow a compass. For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest senator to foresee all accidents and occurrences that fall out in the management and pursuit of a war ; nay, although possibly he might be trained up in military affairs ; and truly much less can he have any great knowledge who hath had but little experience therein. What shall I say ? God led his people through many difficulties and turnings ; yet by more than an ordinary hand of providence he brought them to Canaan at last.

On Friday morning we set sail for Narragansett Bay, and on Saturday toward evening we arrived at our desired port, there we kept the Sabbath.

On the Monday the wind blew so hard at north-west that we could not go on shore ; as also on the Tuesday until sunset ; at which time Captain Mason landed and marched up to the place of the chief sachem's residence ; who told the sachem, " That we had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our coming armed in his country sooner ; yet not doubting but it would be well accepted by him, there being love betwixt himself and us ; well knowing also that the Pequots and themselves were enemies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable wrongs and injuries these Pequots had lately done unto the English ; and that we were now come, God assisting, to avenge ourselves upon them ; and that we did only desire free passage through his country." Who returned us this answer, " That he did accept of our coming, and did also approve of our design ; only he thought our numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, who were (as he said) very great captains and men skilful in war." Thus he spake somewhat slighting of us.

On the Wednesday morning, we marched from thence to a place called Nayanticke, it being about eighteen or twenty miles distant, where another of those Narragansett sachems lived in a fort ; it being a frontier to the Pequots. They carried very proudly towards us ; not permitting any of us to come into their fort.

We beholding their carriage and the falsehood of Indians, and fearing least they might discover us to

the enemy, especially they having many times some of their near relations among their greatest foes ; we therefore caused a strong guard to be set about their fort, giving charge that no Indian should be suffered to pass in or out. We also informed the Indians, that none of them should stir out of the fort upon peril of their lives : so as they would not suffer any of us to come into their fort, so we would not suffer any of them to go out of the fort.

There we quartered that night, the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the morning there came to us several of Miantomo his men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our expedition, which encouraged divers Indians of that place to engage also ; who suddenly gathering into a ring, one by one, making solemn protestations how gallantly they would demean themselves, and how many men they would kill.

On the Thursday about eight of the clock in the morning, we marched thence towards Pequot, with about five hundred Indians ; but through the heat of the weather and want of provisions some of our men fainted. And having marched about twelve miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually fish ; there making a halt, we stayed some small time, the Narragansett Indians manifesting great fear, insomuch that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying that we durst not look upon a Pequot, but themselves would perform great things ; though we had often told them that we came on purpose and were resolved, God assisting, to see the Pequots, and to fight with them, before we returned, though we

perished. I then enquired of Onkos, what he thought the Indians would do? Who said, The Narragansetts would all leave us, but as for himself he would never leave us: and so it proved. For which expressions and some other speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great friend and did great service.

And after we had refreshed ourselves with our mean commons, we marched about three miles, and came to a field which had lately been planted with Indian corn. There we made another halt, and called our council, supposing we drew near to the enemy: and being informed by the Indians that the enemy had two forts almost impregnable; but we were not at all discouraged, but rather animated, inasmuch that we were resolved to assault both their forts at once. But understanding that one of them was so remote that we could not come up with it before midnight, though we marched hard; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest sachem there resided, whose name was Sassacous; we were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our march with extreme heat and want of necessaries, to accept of the nearest.

We then marching on in a silent manner, the Indians that remained fell all into the rear, who formerly kept the van (being possessed with great fear); we continued our march till about one hour in the night: and coming to a little swamp between two hills, there we pitched our little camp; much wearied with hard travel, keeping great silence, supposing we were very near the fort; as our Indians informed us; which proved otherwise. The rocks were our pil-

lows ; yet rest was pleasant. The night proved comfortable, being clear and moonlight. We appointed our guards, and placed our sentinels at some distance ; who heard the enemy singing at the fort, who continued that strain until midnight, with great insulting and rejoicing, as we were afterwards informed. They seeing our pinnaces sail by them some days before, concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them ; the burden of their song tending to that purpose.

In the morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our opportunity, having purposed to make our assault before day, roused the men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and design to God, thinking immediately to go to the assault ; the Indians showing us a path, told us that it led directly to the fort. We held on our march about two miles, wondering that we came not to the fort, and fearing we might be deluded. But seeing corn newly planted at the foot of a great hill, supposing the fort was not far off, a champaign country being round about us, then making a stand, gave the word for some of the Indians to come up. At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared. We demanded of them, Where was the fort ? They answered, On the top of that hill. Then we demanded, Where were the rest of the Indians ? They answered, Behind, exceedingly afraid. We wished them to tell the rest of their fellows, that they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would now fight or not. When Captain Underhill came up, who marched in

the rear ; and commending ourselves to God, divided our men, there being two entrances into the fort, intending to enter both at once ; Captain Mason leading up to that on the north-east side, who approaching within one rod, heard a dog bark and an Indian crying “ Owanux ! Owanux ! ” which is “ Englishmen ! Englishmen ! ” We called up our forces with all expedition, gave fire upon them through the palisado ; the Indians being in a dead, indeed their last sleep. Then we wheeling off fell upon the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which the captain passed, intending to make good the entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavored to enter ; but being somewhat cumbered, stepped back and pulled out the bushes and so entered, and with him about sixteen men. We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the sword and save the plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entered a wigwam ; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the breach in the wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entered ; but in his entrance fell over a dead Indian ; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians, some fled, others crept under their beds. The captain going out of the wigwam saw many Indians in the lane or street ; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the end of the lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others ; where seven of them were slain, as they said. The cap-

tain facing about, marched a slow pace up the lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of breath ; and coming to the other end near the place where he first entered, saw two soldiers standing close to the palisado with their swords pointed to the ground. The captain told them that we should never kill them after that manner. The captain also said, We must burn them ; and immediately stepping into the wigwam where he had been before, brought out a fire-brand, and putting it into the mats with which they were covered, set the wigwams on fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up ; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as men most dreadfully amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very flames, where many of them perished. And when the fort was thoroughly fired, command was given, that all should fall off and surround the fort ; which was readily attended by all ; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

The fire was kindled on the north-east side to windward ; which did swiftly overrun the fort, to the extreme amazement of the enemy, and great rejoicing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the top of the palisado ; others of them running into the very flames ; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their arrows ; and we repaid them with our small shot. Others of the

stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the number of forty, who perished by the sword. . . .

Thus were they now at their wits' end, who not many hours before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatening and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances. But God was above them, who laughed his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus were the stout-hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands. Thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies !

And here we may see the just judgment of God, in sending even the very night before this assault, one hundred and fifty men from their other fort, to join with them of that place, who were designed, as some of themselves reported, to go forth against the English, at that very instant when this heavy stroke came upon them, where they perished with their fellows. So that the mischief they intended to us, came upon their own pate. They were taken in their own snare, and we through mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one hour's space was their impregnable fort with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.

Of the English, there were two slain outright, and about twenty wounded. Some fainted by reason of the sharpness of the weather, it being a cool morning, and the want of such comforts and necessities as were needful in such a case ; especially our

surgeon was much wanting, whom we left with our barks in Narragansett Bay, who had order there to remain until the night before our intended assault.

## THE MASSACRE OF PAWCATUCK.

[FROM THE SAME.]

THUS did the Lord scatter his enemies with his strong arm. The Pequots now became a prey to all Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their heads to the English; of which there came almost daily to Windsor, or Hartford. But the Pequots growing weary thereof, sent some of the chief that survived to mediate with the English; offering that if they might but enjoy their lives, they would become the English vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased. Which was granted them. Whereupon Onkos and Myantonimo were sent for, who with the Pequots met at Hartford. The Pequots being demanded, How many of them were then living, answered, About one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. There were then given to Onkos, Sachem of Moheag, eighty; to Myantonimo, Sachem of Narragansett, eighty; and to Nynigrett, twenty, when he should satisfy for a mare of Edward Pomroye's killed by his men. The Pequots were then bound by covenant: That none should inhabit their native country, nor should any of them be called Pequots any more, but Moheags and Narragansetts forever. Shortly after, about forty of them went to Moheag; others went to Long Island; the rest

settled at Pawcatuck, a place in Pequot country, contrary to their late covenant and agreement with the English.

Which Connecticut taking into consideration, and well weighing the several inconveniences that might ensue ; for the prevention whereof, they sent out forty men under the command of Captain John Mason, to supplant them, by burning their wigwams, and bringing away their corn, except they would desert the place [Pawcatuck] ; Onkos with about one hundred of his men in twenty canoes, going also to assist in the service. . . .

We were so suddenly upon them that they had not time to convey away their goods. We viewed their corn, whereof there was plenty, it being their time of harvest ; and coming down to the water-side to our pinnacle with half of Onkos's his men,, the rest being plundering the wigwams, we looking towards a hill not far remote, we espied about sixty Indians running towards us ; we supposing they were our absent men, the Moheags that were with us not speaking one word, nor moving towards them until the other came within thirty or forty paces of them. Then they ran and met them and fell on pell-mell striking and cutting with bows, hatchets, knives, etc., after their feeble manner. Indeed it did hardly deserve the name of fighting. We then endeavored to get between them and the woods, that so we might prevent their flying ; which they perceiving, endeavored speedily to get off under the beach : we made no shot at them, nor any hostile attempt upon them. Only seven of them who were Nynigrett's men, were taken. Some of them grow-

ing very outrageous, whom we intended to have made shorter by the head, and being about to put it in execution, one Otash, a sachem of Narragansett, brother to Myantonimo, stepping forth, told the captain, They were his brother's men, and that he was a friend to the English, and if he would spare their lives we should have as many murderers' heads in lieu of them which should be delivered to the English. We considering that there was no blood shed as yet, and that it tended to peace and mercy, granted his desire; and so delivered them to Onkos to secure them until his engagement was performed, because our prison had been very much pestered with such creatures.

We then drew our bark into a creek, the better to defend her; for there were many hundreds, within five miles, waiting upon us. There we quartered that night. In the morning, as soon as it was light, there appeared in arms at least three hundred Indians on the other side the creek. Upon which we stood to our arms; which they perceiving, some of them fled, others crept behind the rocks and trees, not one of them to be seen. We then called to them, saying, We desired to speak with them, and that we would down our arms for that end. Whereupon they stood up. We then informed them, That the Pequots had violated their promise with the English, in that they were not there to inhabit, and that we were sent to supplant them. They answered, saying, The Pequots were good men, their friends, and they would fight for them and protect them. At which we were somewhat moved, and told them, It was not far to the head of the creek where we would

meet them, and then they might try what they could do in that respect.

They then replied, That they would not fight with Englishmen, for they were Spirits, but would fight with Onkos. We replied, That we thought it was too early for them to fight, but they might take their opportunity ; we should be burning wigwams, and carrying corn aboard all that day. And presently beating up our drum, we fired the wigwams in their view. And as we marched, there were two Indians standing upon a hill jeering and reviling of us. Mr. Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, marching at liberty, desired to make a shot at them ; the captain demanding of the Indians, What they were ? who said, They were murderers ; then the said Stanton having leave, let fly, shot one of them through both his thighs ; which was to our wonderment, it being at such a vast distance.

We then loaded our bark with corn ; and our Indians their canoes, and thirty more which we had taken, with kettles, trays, mats, and other Indian luggage. That night we went all aboard, and set sail homeward. It pleased God in a short time to bring us all in safety to the place of our abode ; although we stroke and stuck upon a rock. The way and manner how God dealt with us in our delivery was very remarkable ; the story would be somewhat long to trouble you with at this time, and therefore I shall forbear.

Thus we may see how the face of God is set against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. Our tongue shall talk of thy righteousness all the day long ; for they are con-

founded, they are brought to shame that sought our hurt ! Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wondrous things ; and blessed be his holy name forever ! Let the whole earth be filled with his glory ! Thus the Lord was pleased to smite our enemies in the hinder parts, and to give us their land for an inheritance. Who remembered us in our low estate, and redeemed us out of our enemies' hands. Let us therefore praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works to the children of men !

## ADDITION.

*I shall add a word or two by way of Comment.*

OUR commons were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the colony of all sorts of provision, it being upon our first arrival at the place. We had but one pint of strong liquors among us in our whole march, but what the wilderness afforded (the bottle of liquor being in my hand) ; and when it was empty, the very smelling to the bottle would presently recover such as fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the heat. And thus we marched on in an uncouth and unknown path to the English, though much frequented by Indians. And was not the finger of God in all this, by his special providence to lead us along in the way we should go ? Nay, though we knew not where their forts were, how far it was to them, nor the way that led to them, but by what we had from our Indian guides ; whom we could not confide in, but looked at them as uncer-

tain. And yet notwithstanding all our doubts, we should be brought on the very fittest season ; nay, and which is yet more, that we should be carried in our march among a treacherous and perfidious people, yea, in our allodgment so near the enemy, all night in so populous a country, and not the least notice of us, seemeth somewhat strange, and more than ordinary. Nay, that we should come to their very doors: What shall I say ? God was pleased to hide us in the hollow of his hand. I still remember a speech of Mr. Hooker at our going aboard : That they should be bread for us. And thus when the Lord turned the captivity of his people, and turned the wheel upon their enemies, we were like men in a dream ; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongues with singing ; thus we may say the Lord hath done great things for us among the heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord !

I shall mention two or three special providences that God was pleased to vouchsafe to particular men ; viz. two men being one man's servants, namely, John Dier and Thomas Stiles, were both of them shot in the knots of their handkerchiefs, being about their necks, and received no hurt. Lieutenant Seeley was shot in the eyebrow with a flat-headed arrow, the point turning downwards : I pulled it out myself. Lieutenant Bull had an arrow shot into a hard piece of cheese, having no other defence. Which may verify the old saying, "A little armor would serve if a man knew where to place it." Many such providences happened ; some respecting myself ; but since there is none that witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

The year ensuing, the colony being in extreme want of provision, many giving twelve shillings for one bushel of Indian corn ; the court of Connecticut employing Captain Mason, Mr. William Wadsworth and Deacon Stebbin, to try what providence would afford, for their relief in this great strait. Who, notwithstanding some discouragement they met with from some English, went to a place called Pocomtuck, where they procured so much corn at reasonable rates, that the Indians brought down to Hartford and Windsor fifty canoes laden with corn at one time. Never was the like known to this day ! So although the Lord was pleased to show his people hard things ; yet did he execute judgment for the oppressed, and gave food to the hungry. Oh, let us meditate on the great works of God ! ascribing all blessing and praise to his great name, for all his great goodness and salvation ! Amen, Amen.

FINIS.

## JOHN COTTON.

JOHN COTTON, one of the most distinguished of the early New England clergy, was born in Derby, England in 1585, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1652. Like most of the Puritan divines he enjoyed a university education at Cambridge, where he attained promotion and distinction, being especially noted for his oratorical and rhetorical abilities. He was ordained priest, and became vicar at Boston in Lincolnshire about 1612, a position which he kept for more than twenty years, though not without episcopal intervention. His troubles under Laud's régime culminated in his flight to London and in his escape to the New England Boston in 1633. Within a fortnight he was appointed teacher in the First Church, and was connected with that congregation till his death. Though he was the ripest scholar in New England, well versed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and grounded in the Calvinistic theology, despite his coquetting with Mrs. Hutchinson's anti-nomianism, his style is so lacking in attractive qualities as to make the compliments showered on him by contemporaries almost incomprehensible. To them he was an Attic Muse, a silver trumpet, Solon, St. Paul and Polycarp all in one. Certainly with his nearly fifty books he was an indefatigable writer, a stimulus to provincial scholars, but he was also

a stimulus to controversial intolerance. In his greatest controversy, that with Roger Williams, which produced perhaps his most important book “The Bloody Tenent Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb,” the world has pronounced its verdict: He was a great man, the foil to a greater.

## ADVICE TO COLONISTS.

[FROM “GOD’S PROMISE TO HIS PLANTATION,” LONDON, 1630. A SERMON PREACHED AS A FAREWELL TO WINTHROP’S COMPANY.]

*Use 1.* To exhort all that are planted at home, or intend to plant abroad, to look well to your plantation, as you desire that the sons of wickedness may not afflict you at home, nor enemies abroad, look that you be right planted, and then you need not to fear, you are safe enough: God hath spoken it, I will plant them, and they shall not be moved, neither shall the sons of wickedness afflict them any more.

*Quest.* What course would you have us take?

*Ans.* Have special care that you ever have the Ordinances planted amongst you, or else never look for security. As soon as God’s Ordinances cease, your security ceaseth likewise; but if God plant his Ordinances among you, fear not, he will maintain them. *Isay 4. 5, 6. Upon all their glory there shall be a defence;* that is, upon all God’s Ordinances: for so was the Ark called *the Glory of Israel*, *1 Sam. 4. 22.*

Secondly, have a care to be implanted into the

Ordinances, that the word may be ingrafted into you, and you into it: If you take rooting in the Ordinances, grow up thereby, bring forth much fruit, continue and abide therein, then you are vineyard of red wine, and the Lord will keep you, *Isay* 27. 2. 3. that no sons of violence shall destroy you. Look into all the stories whether divine or human, and you shall never find that God ever rooted out a people that had the Ordinances planted amongst them, and themselves planted into the Ordinances: never did God suffer such plants to be plucked up; on all their glory shall be a defence.

Thirdly, be not unmindful of our *Jerusalem* at home, whether you leave us, or stay at home with us. *Oh pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love her. Psal.* 122. 6. *They shall all be confounded and turned back that hate Sion, Psal.* 129. 5. As God continueth his presence with us, (blessed be his name) so be ye present in spirit with us, though absent in body: Forget not the womb that bare you and the breast that gave you suck. Even ducklings hatched under an hen, though they take the water, yet will still have recourse to the wing that hatched them: how much more should chickens of the same feather, and yolk? In the amity and unity of brethren, the Lord hath not only promised, but commanded a blessing, even life forevermore: *Psal.* 133. 1, 2.

Fourthly, go forth, every man that goeth, with a public spirit, looking not on your own things only, but also on the things of others: *Phil.* 2. 4. This care of universal helpfulness was the prosperity of the first plantation of the Primitive Church, *Acts* 4. 32.

Fifthly, have a tender care that you look well to the plants that spring from you, that is, to your children, that they do not degenerate as the Israelites did; after which they were vexed with afflictions on every hand. How came this to pass? *Jer. 2. 21. I planted them a noble vine, holy, a right seed how then art thou degenerate into a strange vine before me?* Your ancestors were of a noble divine spirit, but if they suffer their children to degenerate, to take loose courses, then God will surely pluck you up: Otherwise if men have a care to propagate the Ordinances and Religion to their children after them, God will plant them and not root them up. For want of this, the seed of the repenting *Ninivites* was rooted out.

Sixthly, and lastly, offend not the poor natives, but as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith: as you reap their temporals, so feed them with your spirituals: win them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. They never yet refused the Gospel, and therefore more hope they will now receive it. Who knoweth whether God have reared this whole Plantation for such an end:

*Use 2.* Secondly, for consolation to them that are planted by God in any place, that find rooting and establishing from God, this is a cause of much encouragement unto you, that what he hath planted he will maintain, every plantation his right hand hath not planted shall be rooted up, but his own plantation shall prosper, and flourish. When he promiseth peace and safety, what enemies shall be able to make the promise of God of none effect? Neglect not walls,

and bulwarks, and fortifications for your own defence ; but ever let the name of the Lord be your strong tower ; and the word of his promise the rock of your refuge. His word that made heaven and earth will not fail, till heaven and earth be no more. *Amen.*

[FROM A LETTER WRITTEN FROM BOSTON, MASS.,  
DEC. 3, 1634, TO SOME ENGLISH CLERGYMAN  
GIVING REASONS FOR THE EMIGRATION OF PURITAN  
CLERGYMEN.]

Our Saviour's warrant is clear and strong (as we conceive) in our case, that when we are distressed in our course in one country (*ne quid dicam gravius,*) we should flee to another. To chose rather to bear witness to the truth by imprisonment than by banishment, is indeed sometimes God's way ; but not in case men have ability of body and opportunity to remove, and no necessary engagement for to stay. Whilst Peter was young, he might gird himself and go whither he would ; but when he was old and unfit for travel, then indeed God called him rather to suffer himself to be girt of others, and led along to prison and to death. Nevertheless, in this point I conferred with the chief of our people, and offered them to bear witness to the truth I had preached and practised amongst them, even unto bonds, if they conceived it might be any confirmation to their faith and patience. But they dissuaded me that course, as thinking it better for themselves, and for me, and for the church of God, to withdraw myself from the present storm, and to minister in this country to such of their town as

they had sent before hither, and such others as were willing to go along with me, or to follow after me ; the most of the (*obliterated*) choosing rather to dwell in the (*a line and a half obliterated*) there. What service myself or brother Hooker might do to our people or other brethren in prison, (especially in close prison, which was feared,) I suppose we both of us, by God's help, do the same, and much more, and with more freedom from hence, as occasion is offered ; besides all our other service to the people here, which yet is enough, and more than enough, to fill both our hands, yea and the hands of many brethren more, such as yourself, should God be pleased to make way for your comfortable passage to us. To have tarried in England for the end you mention, to appear in defence you mention, to appear in defence of that cause for which we were questioned, had been, as we conceive it in our case, to limit witness-bearing to the cause (which may be done more ways than one,) to one only way, and that such a way as we did not see God calling us unto. Did not Paul bear witness against the Levitical ceremonies, and yet choose rather to depart quickly out of Hierusalem, because the most of the Jews would not receive his testimony concerning Christ in that question, than to stay at Hierusalem to bear witness to that cause unto prison and death ? Not that we came hither to strive against ceremonies, or to fight against shadows ; there is no need of further labor in that course. Our people here desire to worship God in spirit and in truth ; and our people left in England know as well the grounds and reasons of our suffering against these things, as our sufferings themselves ; which we be-

seech the Lord to accept and bless in our blessed Saviour. How far our testimony there hath prevailed with any others to search more seriously into the cause, we do rather observe in thankfulness and silence, than speak of to the prejudice of our brethren.

## A DEFENCE OF PERSECUTION.

[FROM “AN ANSWER OF MR. JOHN COTTON OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND, TO THE AFORESAID ARGUMENTS AGAINST PERSECUTION FOR CAUSE OF CONSCIENCE,” PRINTED IN WILLIAMS’ “BLOODY TENENT.”]

YOUR second head of reasons is taken from the profession and practice of famous princes, King James, Stephen of Poland, King of Bohemia.

Whereunto a treble answer may briefly be returned.

First, we willingly acknowledge, that none is to be persecuted at all, no more than they may be oppressed for righteousness sake.

Again, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his conscience, though misinformed, as hath been said, unless his error be fundamental, or seditiously and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of his conscience, that it may appear he is not punished for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience.

Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be constrained to believe or profess the true religion till he be convinced in judgment of the truth of it : but yet

restrained he may (be) from blaspheming the truth, and from seducing any unto pernicious errors.

2. We answer, what princes profess or practice, is not a rule of conscience : they many times tolerate that in point of State policy, which cannot justly be tolerated in point of true Christianity.

Again, princes many times tolerate offenders out of very necessity, when the offenders are either too many, or too mighty for them to punish, in which respect David tolerated Joab and his murthers, but against his will.

3. We answer further, that for those three princes named by you, who tolerated religion, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated Heretics and Schismatics, notwithstanding their pretence of conscience, and arrogating the crown of martyrdom to their sufferings.

Constantine the Great at the request of the general Council of Nice, banished Arius with some of his fellows. Sozom. lib. i. Eccles. Hist. cap. 19. 20. The same Constantine made a severe law against the Donatists. And the like proceedings against them were used by Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius, as Augustine reporteth in Epist. 166. Only Julian the Apostate granted liberty to Heretics as well as to Pagans, that he might by tolerating all weeds to grow, choke the vitals of Christianity, which was also the practice and sin of Valens the Arian.

Queen Elizabeth, as famous for her government as any of the former, it is well known what laws she made and executed against Papists. Yea and King James (one of your own witnesses) though he was slow in proceeding against Papists (as you say) for

conscience sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and severely he punished those whom the malignant world calleth Puritans, men of more conscience and better faith than he tolerated.

I come now to your third and last argument, taken from the judgment of ancient and later writers, yea even of Papists themselves, who have condemned persecution for conscience sake.

You begin with Hilary, whose testimony we might admit without any prejudice to the truth : for it is true, the Christian Church did not persecute, but is persecuted. But to excommunicate an Heretic, is not to persecute ; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for conscience, but for persisting in error against light of conscience, whereof it hath been convinced.

It is true also what he saith, that neither the Apostles did, nor may we propagate (the) Christian Religion by the sword : but if Pagans cannot be won by the word, they are not to be compelled by the sword. Nevertheless, this hindreth not, but if they or any others should blaspheme the true God, and his true religion, they ought to be severely punished : and no less do they deserve, if they seduce from the truth to damnable heresies or idolatry.

SPECIMENS OF SCRIPTURAL EXPOSITION.

[FROM “A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE WHOLE BOOK OF CANTICLES, OR SONG OF SOLOMON.” LONDON, 1642.]

[From Chapter II.]

*Stay me with flagons and comfort me with apples, for I am sick of love.* Verse 5. I, the Church is here faint and sick, and ready to swoon, for desire of further fellowship with Christ, and for her own help desir-eth,

First, Flagons of wine to stay her.

Secondly, Apples to comfort her; as indeed apples do comfort the heart and stomach, prevents swooning, and restrains poison:\* Thus *Daniel*, through abundance of Revelations was faint and sick, and desirous of more clear knowledge of his visions, and of the Church’s deliverance, and round the † Angel ready to refresh and strengthen him: and the other members of the Church feeling such sweet taste of Christ’s presence amongst them in the captivity, were (doubtless) earnestly desirous of more full enjoying him perfectly,

\* Fernelius, a physician.

† Dan. 8. 27. and 10-12. Verse 15-19.

First, by the Ministry of the Prophets, as by flagons of wine.

Secondly, by the Magistracy of *Daniel* and his fellows, whom the King set up

Dan. 2. 48, 49.

for inferior magistrates, as by apples, the fruit of the apple trees.

[From Chapter IV.]

*Thy hair as a flock of Goats that appear from mount Gilead.]*

Hair, though it hang long upon the head, yet it may in time either,

First, fall of itself.

Secondly, be cut off: so were the common Christians of that time (as it were) hair,

1. For multitude.

2. Hanging on Christ the head.

3. Falling many of them from him :

\* Joh. 6. .  
66.

First,\* either of themselves, Or

\* Mat. 27.  
20.

Secondly, cut off by the practices of the Priests :\* hence it was that Jesus durst not commit himself to them.

Joh. 12. 42.  
43.

*As a flock of Goats,]* which are wont,

Joh. 2. 23  
-25.

First, to assemble themselves in companies : so did the people gather after Christ.

\* Mat. 9.  
36.

Secondly, to be without a shepherd, as this people were.\*

Thirdly, to feed afar off, and that somewhat dangerously, upon Rocks.

\* Mar. 8.  
3.  
\* Joh. 9.  
22.

So the people came from far to hear Christ,\* and were in danger for feeding on him.\*

[From Chapter V.]

*Verse 11. His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven.*

*His head is as the most fine gold.]* Christ comes now to be described in his members more particularly : This head of gold Christ shewed on the earth in the person of *Frederick*, the second Emperor of *Rome*, a Prince of much purity and worth, as an head of the Church of fine gold : He contended with many Popes about the headship of the Church, advanced the headship of Christ and of himself, his Vice-gerents, above the counterfeit head of the Pope's Supremacy. He wrestled for Christ against them with much difficulty, yet prevailed ; so that even in the popish schools his election of God was agreed and condescended unto by sundry.

*His locks are bushy, or curled, and black as a raven.]* Curled black hair is a sign of heat and courage, and wit in him that it groweth upon : such was the Emperor himself, and such were the common Christians of that age that did depend upon their Emperor ; they stuck close to him ; learned men with wit, more than former ages had yielded, and soldiers with courage maintained his person and cause.

## WHO SHOULD BEAR THE KEYS.

[FROM “THE | KEYES | Of the Kingdom of |  
 HEAVEN, | AND | Power thereof, according to  
 the | VVord of God. | By | That learned and  
 Judicious Divine, | Mr. IOHN COTTON, Teacher of  
 the Church | at *Boston*, in *New England*, | Tend-  
 ing to reconcile some present differences about |  
 DISCIPLINE,” etc. London, 1644.]

[Chap. VII.]

*Obj.* 2. The body of the Church is the Spouse of Christ, the Lamb’s wife, and ought not the wife to rule the servants and stewards in the house, rather than they her? Is it not meet the Keys of Authority should hang at her girdle rather than at theirs?

*Ans.* There is a difference to be put between Queens, Princesses, Ladies of great Honor (such as the Church is to Christ, *Psal.* 45. 9), and country huswives, poor men’s wives. Queens and great persons have several offices and officers for every business and service about the house, as Chamberlains, Stewards, Treasurers, Comptrollers, Ushers, Bailiffs, Grooms, and Porters, who have all the authority of ordering the affairs of their lord’s house on their hands. There is not a key left in the Queen’s hand of any office, but only of power and liberty to call for what she wanteth according to the King’s royal allowance; which if she exceed, the officers have power to restrain her by order from the King.

But country huswives, and poor men's wives, whose husbands have no Officers, Bailiffs, or Stewards, to oversee and order their estates, they may carry the keys of any office at their own girdles, which the husband keepeth not in his own hand, not because poor huswives have greater authority in the house than queens ; but because of their poverty and mean estate, they are fain to be instead of many servants to their husbands.

## OF BROWNISTS, ETC.

[FROM THE WAY OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES  
CLARED, BY MR. JOHN COTTON, LONDON, 1648.]

[Part I. Chap. II.]

. . . As there is a vast difference between the Episcopacy of England, and the Superintendency of Germany (the one ruling by Monarchical Power, the other by the consent of the Aristocratical Presbytery :) so neither is there such correspondency between the German Anabaptism, and the English Brownism, as to make Brownism a native branch of Anabaptism.

. . . Answ. The dissolution of ice and snow into water, doth indeed argue strongly their original from water, because they are easily resolved into it without putrefaction or corruption. But so is not the Separatist resolved into a German Anabaptist, without a further degree of corruption and putrefaction. It is no argument a man is bred of worms, because he is next resolved into worms ; for he is

not so resolved without putrefaction. Say not, a man is resolved at last into dust from whence he was first taken ; and yet the resolution is not made without putrefaction. For man is not made of dust naturally, but by a transcendent creating power above Nature. But the Dissuader maketh the Separation a native branch of Anabaptism.

Besides, I suppose, it is not an obvious thing to hear of an Anabaptist turned Separatist, though some Separatists have turned Anabaptists ; which argueth there is not such a mutual frequent transition from the one to the other, as is yearly found of ice and snow into water, and of water into ice or snow again. . . .

[Part I. Chap. III. Sec. III.]

Touching the Line of the Pedigree of the Independents in New England.

. . . That thẽ Separatists were our fathers we have justly denied it above ; seeing they neither begat us to God nor to the Church nor to their Schism. That we are (through Grace) begotten to God and to his Church, we receive (many of us) from the blessing of Christ upon the Ministry of England. That we grew weary of the burden of Episcopacy and Conformity we received from the Word of God by the help of the Nonconformists there. That we laid aside the Book of Common Prayer we received from the serious meditation of the Second Commandment and not from the writings of the Separatists, though they also had taken up the same conclusion upon

other premises. The particular visible Church of a congregation to be the first subject of the power of Keys we received by the light of the Word from Mr. Parker, Mr. Baynes and Dr. Ames, from whom also (from two of them at least) we received light out of the Word for the matter of the visible Church to be visible saints ; and for the form of it to be a mutual covenant, whether an explicit or implicit profession of faith, and subjection to the Gospel of Christ in the society of the Church or Presbytery thereof. And these be the chief doctrines and practices of our way so far as it differeth from other Reformed Churches, and having received these not from the Separatists but from the Lord Jesus by gracious saints and faithful witnesses of Jesus the consanguinity of our tenets with any the like found among the Separatists will not demonstrate the Separatists to be our fathers.

[Part I. Chap. V. Sec. II.]

Of the Fruits of Congregational Discipline in our Churches in New England.

For the fruits of congregational discipline as it hath been exercised amongst us (though in much weakness) the Lord hath not left us without testimony from heaven :

First, in making these churches a little sanctuary (through his grace) to many thousands of his servants who fled over hither to avoid the unsupportable pressures of their consciences by the Episcopal tyranny.

Secondly, in blessing the ministry of our preach-

ers here with like fruits of conversion (as in our native country) of sundry elder and younger persons, who came over hither no out of respect to conscience, or spiritual ends, but out of respect to friends or outward enlargements: but have here found that grace, which they sought not for.

Thirdly, in discovering and suppressing those errors of Antinomians, and Familists, which brake forth here amongst us, and might have proceeded to the subversion of many souls, had not the blessing of Christ upon the vigilancy of Congregational discipline, either prevented or removed, or healed the same.

Fourthly, it hath been also a testimony from Heaven of God's blessing upon our way, that many thousands in England in all the Quarters of the Kingdom, have been awakened to consider the cause of Church discipline, for which we have suffered this hazardous and voluntary banishment into this remote wilderness: and have therefore by letters conferred with us about it, and been (through mercy) so far enlightened, as to desire an utter subversion of Episcopacy, and conformity, yea and the Honorable Houses of Parliament, the Lord hath been pleased to help them so far to consider of our sufferings, and of the causes thereof, as to conclude a necessity of reformation of the ecclesiastical state (among other causes) by reason of the necessity put upon so many English subjects to depart from all our employments and enjoyments in our native country for conscience sake.

*On my Reverend and dear Brother, M<sup>r</sup> THOMAS  
HOOKER, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford on  
Connectiquot.*

To see three things was holy Austin's wish,  
Rome in her Flower, Christ Jesus in the Flesh,  
And Paul i'th Pulpit ; Lately men might see,  
Two first, and more, in Hooker's Ministry.

Zion in Beauty, is a fairer sight,  
Than Rome in Flower, with all her Glory dight:  
Yet Zion's Beauty did most clearly shine,  
In Hooker's Rule, and Doctrine ; both Divine.

Christ in the Spirit, is more than Christ in Flesh,  
Our Souls to quicken, and our States to bless :  
Yet Christ in Spirit brake forth mightily,  
In Faithful Hooker's searching Ministry.

Paul in the Pulpit, Hooker could not reach,  
Yet did He Christ in Spirit so lively Preach :  
That living Hearers thought He did inherit  
A double Portion of Paul's lively spirit.

Prudent in Rule, in Argument quick, full :  
Fervent in Prayer, in Preaching powerful :  
That well did learned Ames record bear,  
The like to Him He never wont to hear.

'Twas of Geneva's Worthies said, with wonder,  
(Those Worthies Three: ) Farell was wont to thunder;  
Viret, like Rain, on tender grass to shower,  
But Calvin, lively Oracles to pour.

All these in Hooker's spirit did remain :  
A Son of Thunder, and a shower of Rain,  
A pourer forth of lively Oracles,  
In saving souls, the sum of miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,  
Above the thankless world, and cloudy sky :  
Do thou of all thy labor reap the Crown,  
Whilst we here reap the seed, which thou hast sown.

## TRIBUTES TO COTTON.

THE early New England divines, as is well known, formed what Dr. Holmes was fond of terming a Brahmin caste. They were thoroughly banded together and upheld their theocracy in every way possible, among others by paying sincere, if extravagant tributes to those of their number who had been gathered to their reward in heaven. Several of these tributes will be given in our pages. John Cotton, who has just appeared as an elegist of his friend Hooker, was especially honored by his surviving brethren, and we present three representative specimens of their hyperbolic praise. The first is from the short sketch by the Rev. Samuel Whiting (1597-1679) of Lynn; the second from the longer life by the Rev. John Norton (1606-1663), progenitor of a distinguished New England family and famous as a theologian; the third, in verse, is the production of the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge (1622-1684), the first graduate of Harvard, who is not strictly an American writer since he resided in the country only a few years.

[FROM WHITING'S SKETCH.]

I COULD speak much more; but at this present want strength. But this I say; he may be a pattern to us

all, and happy they that come nearest him in those things wherein he most followed Christ. I am not like to live to see such another in New England, though I know God is able to double the spirit of that Elias upon him that succeeds him, and upon many others in our native country and here. It is well for both the Bostons that they have had such a light, if they walk in the light, and continue in that word of Christ and light of grace and truth, that he held out to them. I end all with that of our Saviour concerning John Baptist, "he was a burning and a shining light"; and God grant the after words be not verified of both Englands and both Bostons. I speak my fears, but would be glad to entertain better hopes.

[FROM NORTON'S "ABEL BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH;  
OR THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. JOHN COT-  
TON," LONDON, 1658.]

. . . HE was a general Scholar, studious to know all things, the want whereof might in one of his profession be denominated ignorance; and piously ignorant of those things, the nescience whereof made him more learned. One man is not born to all things. No calling (besides divine requisites) calleth for more abilities, or a larger measure of humane knowledge, than the ministry; deservedly therefore is his praise great in all the churches, that he not only gave himself thereunto, but exceeded many that had done virtuously therein. The greater part of the *Encyclopaideia* he excelled in. Those arts which the uni-

versity requireth such a proficiency from her graduates in, he both digested and refined by his more accurate knowledge of them. He was a good Hebrician, in Greek a critick, and could with great facility both speak and write Latin in a pure and elegant Cicero-nian style; a good historian, no stranger to the Fathers, Councils, or School-men; abundantly exercised in commentators of all sorts. His library was great, his reading and learning unanswerable, himself a living and better library. Though he was a constant student, yet he had all his learning out of his books. He was a man of much communion with God, and acquaintance with his own heart, observing the daily passages of his life. He had a deep sight into the mystery of Gods grace, and man's corruption, and large apprehensions of these things. . . .

With Solon, as he grew old, so was he continually a learner; and with Quintilian he terminated his life and his reading both together. The constant work of his ministry was great, if not too great for one man. A candle may spend too fast, and the improvement of the light whilst it is yet burning admits of degrees; besides his preaching in season and out of season, he was daily pressed, if not oppressed, with the care and service of the churches, attendance to personal cases, and manifold other employments inevitably put upon him, both from abroad and at home; whence the time remaining (which is not a little to be lamented) was insufficient to attend doctrinal and especial polemical scripts, such as the cause of the truth, occurrents of Providence and his peculiar engagements called for. He was free to give his judgment when desired, but declined arbitration

and umpirage in civil differences between man and man as heterogeneous both to his office and spirit. His course, like that of celestial bodies, was always in motion, but still careful to keep within his proper sphere. Calvin was not more solicitous not to be found idle ; no man more vigilant to contain himself within his measure. It was religion to him both to run and to run lawfully within the white lines and boundaries of his agonistical race. He was doing, and so doing. . . .

He began the Sabbath at evening, therefore then performed family-duty after supper, being larger than ordinary in exposition. After which he catechised his children and servants, and then returned into his study. The morning following, family-worship being ended, he retired into his study until the bell called him away. Upon his return from meeting he returned again into his study (the place of his labor and prayer), unto his private devotion ; where, having a small repast carried him up for his dinner, he continued till the tolling of the bell. The public service being over, he withdrew for a space to his prementioned oratory for his sacred addresses unto God, as in the forenoon, then came down, repeated the sermon in the family, prayed, after supper sung a Psalm, and towards bed-time betaking himself again to his study, he closed the day with prayer. Thus he spent the Sabbath continually.

## BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE'S ELEGY.

UPON THE TOMB OF THE MOST REVEREND MR.  
JOHN COTTON. [FROM COTTON MATHER'S  
"MAGNALIA."]

HERE lies magnanimous humility ;  
Majesty, meekness ; Christian apathy  
On soft affections ; liberty in thrall ;  
A noble spirit, servant unto all ;  
Learning's great masterpiece, who yet would sit  
As a disciple, at his scholars' feet :  
A simple serpent or serpentine dove,  
Made up of wisdom, innocence and love :  
Neatness embroider'd with itself alone,  
And civils canonized in a gown ;  
Embracing old and young, and low and high,  
Ethics embodied in divinity ;  
Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise  
His brethren's honor on his own decays ;  
(Thus doth the sun retire into his bed,  
That being gone the stars may show their head ;)   
Could wound at argument without division,  
Cut to the quick, and yet make no incision :  
Ready to sacrifice domestic notions  
To churches' peace and ministers' devotions :  
Himself, indeed (and singular in that)  
Whom all admired he admired not :  
Liv'd like an angel of a mortal birth,  
Convers'd in heaven while he was on earth :  
Though not, as Moses, radiant with night  
Whose glory dazzl'd the beholder's sight,

Yet so divinely beautified, you 'ld count  
He had been born and bred upon the Mount !  
A living, breathing Bible ; tables where  
Both covenants at large engraven were ;  
Gospel and law in 's heart had each its column ;  
His head an index to the sacred volume ;  
His very name a title-page ; and next  
His life a commentary on the text.  
O, what a monument of glorious worth,  
When, in a new edition, he comes forth,  
Without erratas, may we think he 'll be  
In leaves and covers of eternity !  
A man of might, at heavenly eloquence,  
To fix the ear, and charm the conscience ;  
As if Appollos were reviv'd in him,  
Or he had learned of a seraphim ;  
Spake many tongues in one ; one voice and sense  
Wrought joy and sorrow, fear and confidence :  
Rocks rent before him, blind receiv'd their sight ;  
Souls levell'd to the dunghill, stood upright :  
Infernal furies burst with rage to see  
Their prisoners captiv'd into liberty :  
A star that in our eastern England rose,  
Thence hurri'd by the blast of stupid foes,  
Whose foggy darkness and benumbed senses  
Brookt not his dazzling fervent influences :  
Thus did he move on earth, from east to west ;  
There he went down, and up to heaven for rest.  
Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,  
His death hath made him an ubiquitary :  
Where is his sepulchre is hard to say,  
Who, in a thousand sepulchres, doth lay  
(Their hearts, I mean, whom he hath left behind)

In them his sacred reliques, now, enshrin'd.  
But let his mourning flock be comforted,  
Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead :  
I mean renowned Norton ; worthy he,  
Successor to our Moses, is to be.  
O happy Israel in America,  
In such a Moses, such a Joshua !

## ROGER WILLIAMS.

ROGER WILLIAMS, the founder of Rhode Island, was born in Wales in 1599, and died in the colony he had founded in 1683, one of the longest lived of the New England pioneers. Of his family and early life we know little ; but he had an influential patron in the great lawyer Coke, who got him admission to the famous Charterhouse School in 1621, and also to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he was graduated. He took orders in the English Church, but being intimately associated with Cotton and Hooker joined the advanced Puritans, and leaving England in 1630 reached Boston early the next year. Though esteemed both as a preacher and a scholar he soon fell under suspicion of heresy. A few months after his installation as assistant at Salem he was constrained to seek shelter in the relatively tolerant Plymouth, where also he was made assistant pastor and formed friendly connections with Indian chiefs, whose language he quickly acquired. But Plymouth, too, proved narrow for independent thought, and after two years he returned to Salem with some devoted adherents. Soon after began his memorable struggle for liberty of conscience, complicated by an unpopular assertion of the rights of the Indians to their land. He was charged with heresy, and ordered to quit the colony. It was even proposed to arrest him and send him to England,

but he escaped this by a flight through the wilderness. He obtained a grant of land from the Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomoh, on the present site of Providence, where, with friends from Salem, he settled in June, 1636. His influence over the Indians was of immense value to all the New England colonies in the Pequot War. He went to England in 1643, and obtained a charter for Rhode Island the following year, publishing while abroad a *Key into the Language of America*, a linguistic work of much value and his famous *Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience*. This was speedily answered by John Cotton in *The Bloody Tenent Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb* (1647), to which Williams replied effectively in *The Bloody Tenent Made yet More Bloody by Mr. Cotton's Endeavor to Wash it White* (1652). The controversy was, however, conducted with rare urbanity on both sides. Williams also wrote, while on his first visit to England, an admirable reply to the reasons given for his banishment, in *Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered*. On his return to the colonies he secured a treaty with the Narragansetts, and took an active part in the government of his colony in whose interest he again visited England (1651-1654). The charter that he secured was so liberal that the Revolution could leave it unaltered. His last years were occupied largely by a zealous controversy with Quakers, whom, however, he steadfastly refused to persecute. For three days the old man of seventy-three wrestled with them in the Quaker meeting-house at Newport, whither he had rowed himself from Providence for the occasion. His record of this is an unreadable

quarto with the genial title *George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes* (1676). Williams combined, in singular degree, gentleness and strength, mobility and permanence, a controversial and a tolerant spirit. As a writer he is unequal, as most of his contemporaries were, but many passages of great beauty and eloquence may be culled from his works. Some of his letters are especially noteworthy for the dignity and nobility of the thought expressed. His writings are republished by the Narragansett Club.

THE  
BLOODY TENENT,

OF PERSECUTION, for cause of  
CONSCIENCE, discussed, in  
*A Conference betweene*

TRUTH and PEACE

VVHO,

In all tender Affection, present to the High  
Court of *Parliament*, (as the *Result* of their  
*Discourse*) *these*, (amongst other *Passages*  
*of highest consideration*).

Printed in the Year 1644.



TO EVERY COURTEOUS READER.

[FROM THE ABOVE.]

WHILE I plead the cause of truth and innocence against the bloody doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience, I judge it not unfit to give alarm to myself, and all men to prepare to be persecuted or hunted for cause of conscience.

Whether thou standest charged with ten or but two talents, if thou huntest any for cause of conscience, how canst thou say thou followest the Lamb of God who so abhorred that practice?

If Paul, if Jesus Christ were present here at London, and the question were proposed what religion would they approve of: the Papists, Prelatists, Presbyterians, Independents, &c. would each say, Of mine, of mine.

But put the second question, if one of the several sorts should by major vote attain the sword of steel: what weapons doth Christ Jesus authorize them to fight with in his cause? Do not all men hate the persecutor, and every conscience true or false complain of cruelty, tyranny? &c.

Two mountains of crying guilt lie heavy upon the backs of all that name the name of Christ in the eyes of Jews, Turks, and Pagans.

First, the blasphemies of their idolatrous inventions, superstitions, and most unchristian conversations.

Secondly, the bloody irreligious and inhuman oppressions, and destructions under the mask or veil of the name of Christ, &c.

O how like is the jealous Jehovah, the consuming fire, to end these present slaughters in a greater slaughter of the holy witnesses? Rev. 11.

Six years preaching of so much truth of Christ (as that time afforded in King Edward's days) kindles the flames of Queen Mary's bloody persecutions.

Who can now but expect that after so many scores of years preaching and professing of more truth, and amongst so many great contentions amongst the very best of Protestants, a fiery furnace should be heat, and who sees not now the fires kindling?

I confess I have little hopes till those flames are over, that this discourse against the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience should pass current (I say not amongst the wolves and lions, but even amongst the sheep of Christ themselves) yet *liberavi animam meam*, I have not hid within my breast my soul's belief: and although sleeping on the bed either of the pleasures or profits of sin thou thinkest thy conscience bound to smite at him that dares to waken thee? Yet in the midst of all these civil and spiritual wars (I hope we shall agree in these particulars.)

First, however the proud (upon the advantage of an higher earth or ground) o'erlook the poor and cry out schismatics, heretics, &c. shall blasphemers and seducers 'scape unpunished? &c. Yet there is a sorer punishment in the Gospel for despising of Christ than Moses, even when the despiser of Moses was put to death without mercy, Heb. 10. 28, 29. He that believeth not shall be damned, Mark 16. 16.

Secondly, whatever worship, ministry, ministration, the best and purest are practiced without faith and true persuasion that they are the true institutions of

God, they are sin, sinful worships, ministries, &c. And however in civil things we may be servants unto men, yet in divine and spiritual things the poorest peasant must disdain the service of the highest prince. Be ye not the servants of men, 1 Cor. 14. (vii : 23.)

Thirdly, without search and trial no man attains this faith and right persuasion, 1 Thes. 5 : Try all things.

In vain have English Parliaments permitted English Bibles in the poorest English houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their souls' persuasion from the Scripture, they should be forced (as if they lived in Spain or Rome itself without the sight of a Bible) to believe as the Church believes.

Fourthly, having tried, we must hold fast, 1. Thesal. 5. upon the loss of a crown, Revel. 13 (iii : 11.) we must not let go for all the flea bitings of the present afflictions, &c. having bought truth dear, we must not sell it cheap, not the least grain of it for the whole world, no not for the saving of souls, though our own most precious ; least of all for the bitter sweetening of a little vanishing pleasure.

For a little puff of credit and reputation from the changeable breath of uncertain sons of men.

For the broken bags of riches on eagles' wings : for a dream of these, any or all of these which on our death-bed vanish and leave tormenting stings behind them : Oh, how much better is it from the love of truth, from the love of the Father of lights, from whence it comes, from the love of the Son of God, who is the way and truth, to say as he, John 18. 37 : For this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world that I might bear witness to the truth.

## [FROM THE SAME. CHAPTER I.]

*Truth.* — In what dark corner of the world (sweet Peace) are we two met? How hath this present evil world banished me from all the coasts and quarters of it? And how hath the righteous God in judgment taken thee from the earth? Rev. 6. 4.

*Peace.* — 'Tis lamentably true (blessed Truth) the foundations of the world have long been out of course: the gates of earth and hell have conspired together to intercept our joyful meeting and our holy kisses. With what a wearied, tired wing have I flown over nations, kingdoms, cities, towns to find out precious Truth?

*Truth.* — The like inquiries in my flights and travels have I made for Peace, and still am told, she hath left the earth, and fled to heaven.

*Peace.* — Dear Truth, what is the earth but a dungeon of darkness, where Truth is not?

*Truth.* — And what's the Peace thereof but a fleeting dream, thine ape and counterfeit?

## [FROM THE SAME. CHAPTER II.]

*Truth.* — Sweet Peace, what hast thou there?

*Peace.* — Arguments against persecution for cause of conscience.

*Truth.* — And what there?

*Peace.* — An answer to such arguments, contrarily maintaining such persecution for cause of conscience.

*Truth.* — These arguments against such persecution, and the answer pleading for it, written (as love hopes) from godly intentions, hearts, and hands, yet in a marvellous different style and manner. The arguments against persecution in milk, the answer for it (as I may say) in blood.

The author of these arguments (against persecution) (as I have been informed) being committed by some then in power, close prisoner to Newgate, for the witness of some truths of Jesus, and having not the use of pen and ink, wrote these arguments in milk, in sheets of paper, brought to him by the woman his keeper, from a friend in London, as the stopples of his milk bottle.

In such paper written with milk nothing will appear, but the way of reading it by fire being known to this friend who received the papers, he transcribed and kept together the papers, although the author himself could not correct, nor view what himself had written.

It was in milk, tending to soul nourishment, even for babes and sucklings in Christ.

It was in milk, spiritually white, pure and innocent, like those white horses of the word of truth and meekness, and the white linen or armor of righteousness, in the army of Jesus. Rev. 6. & 19.

It was in milk, soft, meek, peaceable and gentle, tending both to the peace of souls, and the peace of States and Kingdoms.

*Peace.* — The answer (though I hope out of milky pure intentions) is returned in blood: bloody and slaughterous conclusions; bloody to the souls of all men, forced to the religion and worship which

every civil state or common-weal agrees on, and compels all subjects to in a dissembled uniformity.

Bloody to the bodies, first of the holy witnesses of Christ Jesus, who testify against such invented worships.

Secondly, of the nation and peoples slaughtering each other for their several respective religions and consciences.

## TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PROVIDENCE, the 24th of the 8th [1636 ?]

SIR, WORTHY AND WELL BELOVED, — I was abroad about the Pequot business when your letter arrived, and since messengers have not fitted, &c.

I therefore now thankfully acknowledge your wisdom and gentleness in receiving so lovingly my late rude and foolish lines : you bear with fools gladly because you are wise.

I still wait upon your love and faithfulness for those poor papers, and cannot but believe that your heart, tongue, and pen should be one, if I were Turk or Jew, &c.

Your six queries I welcome, my love forbidding me to surmise that a Pharisee, a Sadducee, an Herodian, &c., wrote them ; but rather that your love and pity framed them as a physician to the sick, &c.

He that made us these souls and searcheth them, that made the ear and eye, and therefore sees and hears I lie not, but in his presence have sadly sequestered myself to his holy tribunal, and your interroga-

tories, begging from his throne those seven fiery lamps and eyes, his holy Spirit, to help the scrutiny, desirous to suspect myself above the old serpent himself, and remembering that he that trusteth in his own heart is a fool. Prov. 28.

While I answer let me importune from your loving breast that good opinion that you deal with one (however so and so, in your judgment yet) serious, and desirous in the matters of God's Sanctuary to use (as the double weights of the Sanctuary teach us) double diligence.

Your first query then is this.

What have you gained by your new-found practices? &c.

I confess my gains cast up in man's exchange are loss of friends, esteem, maintenance, &c., but what was gain in that respect I desire to count loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord : &c. To His all glorious Name I know I have gained the honor of one of his poor witnesses, though in sackcloth.

To your beloved selves and others of God's people yet asleep, this witness in the Lord's season at your waking shall be prosperous, and the seed sown shall arise to the greater purity of the kingdom and ordinances of the Prince of the kings of the earth.

To myself (through his rich grace) my tribulation hath brought some consolation and more evidence of his love, singing Moses his song and the Lamb's, in that weak victory which (through His help) I have gotten over the beast, his picture, his mark, and number of his name, Revel. 15. 2. 3.

If you ask for numbers, the witnesses are but two :

Revel. 11., and how many millions of Christians in name, and thousands of Christians in heart, do call the truths (wherein yourself and I agree in witnessing) new found practices?

Gideon's army was thirty-two thousand; but cowardice returned twenty-two thousand back, and nine thousand seven hundred worldlings sent but three hundred to the battle.

I will not by prophecy exasperate, but wish (in the black and stormy day) your company be not less than Gideon's to fight (I mean with the Blood of the Lamb and Word of Witness) for what you profess to see.

To your second, viz. : Is your spirit as even as it was seven years since?

I will not follow the fashion either in commending or condemning of myself. You and I stand at one dreadful, dreadful tribunal: yet what is past I desire to forget, and to press forward towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ.

And for the evenness of my spirit.

Toward the Lord, I hope I more long to know and do His holy pleasure only, and to be ready not only to be banished, but to die in New England for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Towards yourselves, I have hitherto begged of the Lord an even spirit, and I hope ever shall, as

First, reverently to esteem of, and tenderly to respect the persons of many hundreds of you, &c.

Secondly, To rejoice to spend and be spent in any service, (according to my conscience) for your welfares.

Thirdly, To rejoice to find out the least swerving

in judgment or practice from the help of any, even the least of you.

Lastly, to mourn daily, heavily, uncessantly, till the Lord look down from Heaven, and bring all his precious living stones into one New Jerusalem.

To your third, viz. : Are you not grieved that you have grieved so many ?

I say with Paul, I vehemently sorrow for the sorrow of any of Zion's daughters, who should ever rejoice in her King, &c., yet I must (and O that I had not cause) grieve because so many of Zion's daughters see not and grieve not for their souls' defilements, and that so few bear John company in weeping after the unfolding of the seals, which only weepers are acquainted with.

You thereupon propound a fourth, Do you think the Lord hath utterly forsaken us ?

I answer Jehovah will not forsake His people for His great name's sake 1. Sam. 12. That is, the fire of His love towards those whom once He loves is eternal, like Himself : and thus far be it from me to question His eternal love towards you, &c. Yet if you grant that ever you were as Abraham among the Chaldees, Lot among the Sodomites, the Kenites among the Amalekites, as Israel in Egypt or Babel, and that under pain of their plagues and judgments you were bound to leave them, depart, fly out, (not from the places as in the type,) but from the filthiness, of their sins, &c., and if it prove, as I know assuredly it shall, that though you have come far, yet you never came out of the wilderness to this day : then, I beseech you, remember that yourselves, and so also many thousands of God's people, must yet

mournfully read the 74, 79, 80, and 89 Psalms, the Lamentations, Daniel 11th, and Revel. 11th, 12th, 13th, and this, Sir, I beseech you do more seriously then ever, and abstract yourself with a holy violence from the dung heap of this earth, the credit and comfort of it, and cry to Heaven to remove the stumbling blocks, such idols, after which sometimes the Lord will give His own Israel an answer.

Sir, You request me to be free with you, and therefore blame me not if I answer your request, desiring the like payment from your own dear hand, at any time, in any thing.

And let me add, that amongst all the people of God, wheresoever scattered about Babel's banks, either in Rome or England, &c., your case is the worst by far, because while others of God's Israel tenderly respect such as desire to fear the Lord, your very judgment and conscience leads you to smite and beat your fellow servants, expel them your coasts, &c., and therefore, though I know the elect shall never finally be forsaken, yet Sodom's, Egypt's, Amalek's, Babel's judgments ought to drive us out, to make our calling out of this world to Christ, and our election sure in him.

Sir, Your fifth is, From what spirit, and to what end do you drive?

Concerning my spirit, as I said before, I could declaim against it, but whether the spirit of Christ Jesus, for whose visible kingdom and ordinances I witness, &c, or the spirit of Antichrist (1 John 4) against whom only I contest, do drive me, let the Father of Spirits be pleased to search, and (worthy Sir) be you also pleased by the word to search: and

I hope you will find that as you say you do, I also seek Jesus who was nailed to the gallows, I ask the way to lost Zion, I witness what I believe I see patiently (the Lord assisting) in sackcloth, I long for the bright appearance of the Lord Jesus to consume the man of sin : I long for the appearance of the Lamb's wife also, New Jerusalem : I wish heartily prosperity to you all, Governor and people, in your civil way, and mourn that you see not your poverty, nakedness, &c., in spirituals, and yet I rejoice in the hopes that as the way of the Lord to Apollo, so within a few years (through, I fear though, many tribulations) the way of the Lord Jesus, the first and most ancient path, shall be more plainly discovered to you and me.

Lastly, You ask whether my former condition would not have stood with a gracious heart, &c. ?

At this query, Sir, I wonder much, because you know what sins, yea all manner of sins, (the sin unto death excepted,) a child of God may lie in, instance I need not.

Secondly, When it comes to matter of conscience that the stroke lies upon the very judgment, that the thing practiced is lawful, &c., as the polygamy of the Saints, the building of the Temple, (if David had gone on,) the many false ministries and ministrations (like the ark upon the new cart) which from Luther's times to this day, God's children have conscientiously practiced. Who then can wonder (and yet indeed who can not but wonder) how a gracious heart, before the Lord's awakening, and calling, and drawing out, may lie in many abominations ?

Two instances I shall be bold to present you with.

First, do you not hope Bishop Usher hath a gracious heart ; and secondly, Do you not judge that your own heart was gracious even when (with the poisoned shirt on your back) you, &c. ?

But while another judgeth the condition fair, the soul that fears, doubts, and feels a guilt hath broken bones, &c. Now, worthy Sir, I must call up your wisdom, your love, your patience, your promise and faithfulness, candid ingenuity, &c. My heart's desire is abundant, and exceeds my pen. My head and actions willing to live (as the Apostle Paul) *χαλῶς ἐν παντί*. Where I err, Christ be pleased to restore me, where I stand, to establish. If you please I have also a few queries to yourself, without your leave I will not : but will ever mourn, (the Lord assisting,) that I am no more (though I hope ever) yours,

R : WILL :

Sir, Concerning natives : the Pequots and Nyan-taquits resolve to live and die together, and not to yield up one. Last night tidings came that the Mohawks, (the cannibals,) have slain some of our countrymen at Connecticut. I hope it is not true.

*To John Winthrop, Governor, &c.*

[FOR HIS MUCH HONORED MR. GOVERNOR, JOHN WINTHROP.]

PROVIDENCE, [June, 1638.]

SIR, — I sometimes fear that my lines are as thick and over busy as the musketoes, &c., but your wisdom will connive, and your love will cover, &c.

Two things at present for information.

First in the affairs of the Most High ; his late dreadful voice and hand : that audible and sensible voice, the Earthquake.

All these parts felt it, (whether beyond the Narragansett I yet learn not), for myself I scarce perceived ought but a kind of thunder and a gentle moving, &c., and yet it was no more this way to many of our own and the natives' apprehensions, and but one sudden short motion.

The younger natives are ignorant of the like : but the elder inform me that this is the fifth within these four score years in the land : the first about three score and ten years since : the second some three score and four years since, the third some fifty-four years since, the fourth some forty-six since : and they always observed either plague or pox or some other epidemical disease followed ; three, four or five years after the Earthquake, (or Naunaumemoauke, as they speak).

He be mercifully pleased himself to interpret and open his own riddles, and grant if it be pleasing in his eyes) it may not be for destruction, and but (as the Earthquake before the Jailor's conversion) a means of shaking and turning of all hearts, (which are his,) English or Indian, to him. To further this (if the Lord please) the Earthquake sensibly took about a thousand of the natives in a most solemn meeting for play, &c.

Secondly, a word in mine own particular, only for information. I owe between 50 and 60*li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities received from Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Mayhew will testify that (being Mr. Cradock's agent) he was content to take payment, what (and

when) my house at Salem yielded : accordingly I long since put it into his hand, and he into Mr. Jollies', who beside my voluntary act and his attachment since, sues as I hear for damages, which I question : since I have not failed against contract and content of the first agent, but the holy pleasure of the Lord be done : unto whose merciful arms (with all due respects) I leave you, wishing heartily that mercy and goodness may ever follow you and yours.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, to your dear companion, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs, all respective salutes, &c.

## TO THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE.

AUGUST 31, 1648.

WORTHY FRIENDS, that ourselves and all men are apt and prone to differ, it is no new thing. In all former ages, in all parts of the world, in these parts, and in our dear native country and mournful state of England, that either part or party is most right in his own eyes, his cause right, his carriage right, his arguments right, his answers right, is as woefully and constantly true as the former. And experience tells us, that when the God of peace have taken peace from the earth, one spark of action, word or carriage is too powerful to kindle such a fire as burns up towns, cities, armies, navies, nations, and kingdoms. And since, dear friends, it is an honor for men to cease from strife ; since the life of love is sweet, and union is as strong as sweet ; and since you

have been lately pleased to call me to some public service and my soul hath been long musing how I might bring water to quench, and not oil or fluid to the flame, I am now humbly bold to beseech you, by all those comforts of earth and heaven which a placable and peaceable spirit will bring to you, and by all those dreadful alarms and warnings, either amongst ourselves, in deaths and sicknesses, or abroad in the raging calamities of the sword, death and pestilence; I say, I humbly and earnestly beseech you to be willing to be pacifiable, willing to be reconcilable, willing to be sociable, and to listen to the (I hope not unreasonable) motion following:—

To try out matters by disputes and writings is sometimes endless; to try out arguments by arms and swords is cruel and merciless; to trouble the state and Lords of England is most unreasonable, most chargeable; to trouble our neighbors of other colonies seems neither safe nor honorable. Methinks, dear friends, the colony now looks with the torn face of two parties, and that the greater number of Portsmouth, with other loving friends adhering to them, appear as one grieved party; the other three towns, or greater part of them, appear to be another: Let each party choose and nominate three: Portsmouth and friends adhering three, the other party three, one out of each town; let authority be given to them to examine every public difference, grievance, and obstruction of justice, peace, and common safety; let them, by one final sentence of all, or the greater part of them, end all, and set the whole into an unanimous posture and order, and let them set a censure upon any that shall oppose their sentence. One log, without your gentle

help, I cannot stir ; it is this : How shall the minds of the towns be known ? How shall the persons chosen be called ? Time and place appointed in any expedition ? For myself, I can thankfully embrace the help of Mr. Coddington or Mr. Clarke, joined or apart, but how many are there who will attend, (as our distempers are) to neither ? It is, gentlemen, in the power of the body to require the help of any of her members, and both King and Parliament plead, that in extraordinary cases they have been forced to extraordinary ways for common safety. Let me be friendly construed, if (for expedition) I am bold to be too forward in this service, and to say that if within twenty days of the date thereof, you please to send to my house, at Providence, the name of him whom you please to nominate, at your desire I will acquaint all the persons chosen with place and time, unto which in your name I shall desire their meeting within ten days, or thereabouts, after the receipt of your letter. I am your mournful and unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE FAMOUS LETTER TO GOVERNOR ENDICOTT.

[PUBLISHED IN "THE BLOODY TENENT YET MORE BLOODY." 1651.]

AUGUST, 1651.

THE Maker and Searcher of our hearts knows with what bitterness I write, as with bitterness of soul I have heard such language as to proceed from

yourself and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutors ! [You will say this is your conscience : You will say you are persecuted, and you are persecuted for your conscience. No ; you are Conventiclors, heretics, blasphemers, seducers. You deserve to be hanged ; rather than one shall be wanting to hang him I will hang him myself. I am resolved not to leave an heretic in the country ; I had rather so many whores and whoremongers and thieves came amongst us]. Oh, sir, you cannot forget what language and dialect this is, whether not the same unsavory and ungodly, blasphemous and bloody, which the Gardiners and Bonners, both former and latter used to all that bowed not to the state golden image of what conscience soever they were. And indeed, sir, if the Most High be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy Majesty his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted confessions and supplications, you will then proclaim to all the world, that what professions soever you made of the Lamb, yet these expressions could not proceed from the dragon's mouth.

Oh remember, and the most holy Lord bring it to your remembrance, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great glory to his holy name, great rejoicing to so gracious a Redeemer (in whom you profess is all your healing and salvation), great rejoicing to the holy Spirit of all true consolation, whom yet so long you who have grieved and sadded, great rejoicing to those blessed spirits (attending upon the Lamb, and all his, and terrible to his persecutors), great rejoicing and instruction to all that love the true Lord Jesus (notwithstanding their

wanderings among so many false Christs), mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the world where his name is sounded. Your talents are great, your fall hath been so; your eminency is great, the glory of the Most High in mercy or justice toward you will be great also.

Oh remember it is a dangerous combat for the potsherds of the earth to fight with their dreadful Potter. It is a dismal battle for poor naked feet to kick against the pricks; it is a dreadful voice from the King of kings, and Lord of lords, "Endicott, Endicott, why huntest thou me? why imprisonest thou me? why finest, why so bloodily whippest, why wouldest thou (did not I hold thy bloody hands) hang and burn me?" Yea, sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the may be, to the venture or hazard, to the possibility. Is it possible (may you well say) that since I hunt, I hunt not the life of my Saviour, and the blood of the Lamb of God? I have fought against many several sorts of consciences, is it beyond all possibility and hazard, that I have not fought against God, that I have not persecuted Jesus in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by their sword, and to worship a true Christ! to fight against all consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true Lord Jesus Christ. Oh remember whither your principles and consciences must in time and opportunity force you. 'Tis but worldly policy and compliance with men and times (God's mercy overruling) that holds your hands

from murdering of thousands and ten thousands were your power and command as great as once the bloody Roman Emperors' was. . . .

Oh remember once again (as I began), and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray hair now on both our heads is a Boanerges, a son of thunder, and a warning piece to prepare us for the weighing of our last anchors, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

'Twas mercy infinite, that stopped provoked justice from blowing out our candle's in our youths, but now the feeding substance of the candle's gone, and 'tis impossible without repentance to recall our actions ! nay, with repentance to recall our minutes past us.

TO MY HONOR'D, KIND FRIEND, MR.  
JOHN WINTHROP, GOVERNOR, AT  
HARTFORD, ON CONNECTICUT.

PROVIDENCE, 6, 12, 59-60.

SIR, — Loving respects to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, &c. Your loving lines in this cold dead season were as a cup of your Connecticut cider, which we are glad to hear abounds with you, or of that western metheglin, which you and I have drunk at Bristol together, &c. Indeed, it is the wonderful power and goodness of God, that we are preserved in our dispersions among these wild, barbarous wretches. I hear not of their excursions this winter, and should rejoice if, as you hint, Uncas and his brother were removed to Long Island, or any where, or else, as I have sometimes motioned, a truce for some good term of

years might be obtained amongst them. But how should we expect that the streams of blood should stop among the dregs of mankind when the bloody issues flow so fresh and fearfully among the finest and most refined sons of men and sons of God. We have not only heard of the four northern nations, Dania, Swedia, Anglia, and Belgium, all Protestants, (heretics and dogs, with the Pope &c.) last year tearing and devouring one another, in the narrow straits and eminent high passages and turns of the sea and world : but we also have a sound of the Presbyterians' rage new burst out into flames of war from Scotland, and the independent and sectarian army provoked again to new appeals to God, and engagements against them.

Thus, while this last Pope hath plied with sails and oars, and brought all his popish sons to peace, except Portugal, and brought in his grand engineers, the Jesuits, again to Venice, after their long just banishment, we Protestants are woefully disposed to row backward, and bring our sails aback-stays, and provoke the holy, jealous Lord, who is a consuming fire, to kindle again those fires from Rome and hell, which formerly consumed (in Protestant countries) so many precious servants of God. The late renowned Oliver, confessed to me, in close discourse about the Protestants' affairs, &c. that he yet feared great persecutions to the Protestants from the Romanists, before the downfall of the Papacy. The histories of our fathers before us tell us what huge bowls of the blood of the saints that great whore hath been drunk with, in (now) Protestant dominions. Sure her judgment will ring through the world, and it is hoped it is not

far from the door. Sir, you were, not long since, the son of two noble fathers, Mr. John Winthrop and Mr. H. Peters. It is said they are both extinguished. Surely, I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them even when their judgments led them to afflict me. Yet the Father of Spirits spares us breath, and I rejoice, Sir, that your name (amongst the New England magistrates printed, to the Parliament and army by H. Nort. Rous, &c.,) is not blurred, but rather honored, for your prudent and moderate hand in the late Quakers' trials amongst us. And it is said that in the late Parliament yourself were one of the three in nomination for General Governor over New England, which however that design ripened not, yet your name keeps up a high esteem, &c. I have seen your hand to a letter to this colony, as to your late purchase of some land at Narragansett. The fight of your hand hath quieted some jealousies amongst us, that the Bay, by this purchase, designed some prejudice to the liberty of conscience amongst us. We are in consultation how to answer that letter, and my endeavor shall be, with God's help, to welcome, with both our hands and arms, your interest in these parts, though we have no hope to enjoy your personal residence amongst us. I rejoice to hear that you gain, by new plantations, upon this wilderness. I fear that many precious souls will be glad to hide their heads, shortly, in these parts. Your candle and mine draws towards its end. The Lord graciously help us to shine in light and love universally, to all that fear his name, without that monopoly of affection to such of our own persuasion only ; for the common enemy, the Romish wolf,

is very high in resolution, and hope, and advantage to make a prey on all, of all sorts that desire to fear God. Divers of our neighbors thankfully re-salute you. We have buried, this winter, Mr Olney's son, whom, formerly, you heard to be afflicted with a lethargy. He lay two or three days wholly senseless, until his last groans. My youngest son, Joseph, was troubled with a spice of epilepsy. We used some remedies, but it hath pleased God, by his taking of tobacco, perfectly, as we hope, to cure him. Good Mr. Parker, of Boston, passing from Prudence Island, at his coming on shore, on Seekonk land, trod awry upon a stone or stick, and fell down, and broke the small bone of his leg. He hath lain by of it all this winter, and the last week was carried to Boston in a horse litter. Some fears there was of a gangrene. But, Sir, I use too much boldness and prolixity. I shall now only subscribe myself

Your unworthy friend,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, my loving respects to Mr. Stone, Mr. Lord, Mr. Allen, Mr. Webster, and other loving friends.

## EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER CONCERN- ING AN INTERCOLONIAL DISPUTE.

PROVIDENCE, 22 June, 1670, (Ut. Vulgo.)

MAJOR MASON, — My honored dear and ancient friend. My due respects and earnest desires to God for your eternal peace, etc.

I crave your leave and patience to present you with

some few considerations occasioned by the late transactions between your colony and ours.<sup>1</sup> The last year you were pleased, in one of your lines to me, to tell me that you longed to see my face once more before you died : I embrace your love, though I feared my old lame bones, and yours, had arrested travelling in this world, and therefore I was and am ready to lay hold on all occasions of writing as I do at present. . . .

Sir, I am not out of hopes but that while your aged eyes and mine are yet in their orbs, and not yet sunk down into their holes of rottenness, we shall leave our friends and countrymen, our children and relations and this land in peace behind us. To this end, Sir, please you with a calm and steady and a christian hand, to hold the balance and to weigh these few considerations, in much love and due respect presented.

First, when I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children (in the midst of a New-England winter, now about thirty-five years past) at Salem, that ever honored Governor Mr. Winthrop privately wrote to me to steer my course to Narragansett-Bay and Indians for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as an hint and voice from God and waiving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem (though in winter snow which I feel yet) unto these parts, wherein I may say *Peniel*, that is, I have seen the face of God.

<sup>1</sup> Over a question of jurisdiction — Rhode Island protested against invasions by Connecticut.

Second, I first pitch't, and began to build and plant at Seekonk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water and then he said I had the country free before me and might be as free as themselves and we should be loving neighbors together. These were the joint understandings of these two eminently wise and christian Governors and others, in their day, together with their counsel and advice as to the freedom and vacancy of this place, which in this respect and many other providences of the most holy and only wise, I called Providence. \* \* \*

5. Considering (upon frequent exceptions against Providence men) that we had no authority for civil government, I went purposely to England and upon *charter.* my report and petition, the Parliament granted us a charter of government for these parts, so judged vacant on all hands. And upon this the country about us was more friendly, and wrote to us and treated us as an authorised colony; only the differences of our consciences much obstructed. The bounds of this our first charter I (having ocular knowledge of persons, places and transactions) did honestly and conscientiously, as in the holy presence of God, draw up from Pawcatuck river, which I then believed and still do, is free from all English claims and conquests; \* \* \*

10. Alas, Sir, in calm midnight thoughts, what are these leaves and flowers, and smoke and shadows, and dreams of earthly nothings, about which we poor

fools and children, as David saith, disquiet ourselves in vain? Alas, what is all the scuffling of this world for but, *come will you smoke it?* What are all the contentions and wars of this world about, generally, but for greater dishes and bowls of porridge, of which, if we believe God's spirit in Scripture, Esau and Jacob were types? . . .

. . . I know you are both of you hot, I fear myself also. If both desire, in a loving and calm spirit, to enjoy your rights I promise you, with God's help, to help you to them in a fair and sweet and easy way. — My receipt will not please you all. If it should so please God to frown upon us that you should not like it, I can but humbly mourn and say with the Prophet that which must perish, must perish. And as to myself in endeavouring after your temporal and spiritual peace, I humbly desire to say, if I perish, I perish — It is but a shadow vanished, a bubble broke, a dream finish't — eternity will pay for all.

Sir, I am your old and true friend and servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

VERSES.

[FROM "A KEY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF AMERICA."  
1643.]

IF birds that neither sow nor reap  
Nor store up any food,  
Constantly find to them and theirs  
A maker kind and good!

If man provide eke for his birds,  
In yard, in coops, in cage,  
And each bird spends in songs and tunes  
His little time and age !

What care will man, what care will God,  
For 's wife and children take ?  
Millions of birds and worlds will God  
Sooner than his forsake.

---

YEARS thousands since God gave command,  
As we in Scripture find,  
That earth and trees and shrubs should bring  
Forth fruits each in his kind.

The wilderness remembers this ;  
The wild and howling land  
Answers the toiling labor of  
The wildest Indian's hand.

But man forgets his maker, who  
Framed him in righteousness,  
A Paradise in Paradise now worse  
Than Indian wilderness.

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WHEN sun doth rise the stars do set,  
Yet there 's no need of light,  
God shines a sun most glorious,  
When creatures all are night.

The very Indian boys can give  
 To many stars their name,  
 And know their course, and therein do  
 Excel the English tame.

English and Indians none inquire,  
 Whose hand these candles hold,  
 Who gives these stars their names, himself  
 More bright ten thousand-fold.

## THOMAS HOOKER.

THOMAS HOOKER, one of the most eloquent and influential of the early Puritan clergy, was born in Markfield, Leicestershire, in 1586, and died in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1647. Like many of his fellow ministers, he was a Cambridge graduate and fellow, and was advancing to distinction when, in 1630, he was silenced by Archbishop Laud. He was Anglican in doctrine, but objected to the ceremonial of the English Church. He taught school for a time with John Eliot, the future apostle to the Indians, as his assistant, but he was still subjected to persecution, and fled to Holland, whence he emigrated in 1633 to New England in the same ship with John Cotton and the almost equally distinguished Samuel Stone. Five weeks after his landing, Hooker obtained a pastorate, and three years later migrated with his entire congregation to the Connecticut River, where they founded Hartford. Hooker was identified with all the great political and religious movements in the young colony, especially with the framing of the famous constitution. He was a man of commanding character, in politics liberal and almost democratic, but in his church ruling with a rod of iron as prophet, priest, and king, as confessor, too, and exhorter of the minatory type. His power to foretell events seems to have been believed in both by himself and by his parishioners. His style is often less involved, and

therefore more forcible and readable than that of many of his contemporaries, for he constantly remembered the limitations of the human ear, and framed his discourses accordingly. His sermons and numerous treatises must have been read with a fearful joy of terror, so long as the theology that they represented was a matter of belief or even of profession.

A SURVEY of the Summe of Church-Discipline, WHEREIN the Way of the CHURCHES of NEW ENGLAND is Warranted out of the Word, and all Exceptions of Weight, which are made against it, answered: WHEREBY also it will appear to the Judicious Reader, that something more must be said, then yet hath been, before their Principles can be shaken, or they should be unsettled in their practice, By THOS. HOOKER, late Pastor of the Church at *Hartford* upon *Connecticott* in N.E. [London, 1648.]

[FROM THE PREFACE.<sup>1</sup>]

TRUTH is the Daughter of time, was the saying of old, and our daily experience gives in evidence and proof hereof, to every man's ordinary observation. Only as in other births, so here, the barrenness and fruitfulness of several ages, depend merely upon God's good pleasure; who opens and shuts the womb of truth from bearing, as he sees fit, according to the counsel of his own will.

Not that there is any change in the truth, but the alteration grows, according to men's apprehensions,

<sup>1</sup> The marginal references are omitted. The long title is not typographically exact.

to whom it is more or less discovered, according to God's most just judgment, and their own deservings.

Sometimes God makes an eclipse of the truth at midday, that so he might express his wrath from Heaven, against the unthankfulness, prophaneness, and atheism of a malignant world.

Hence it was he let loose those hellish delusions, immediately after the Ascension of our Saviour ; That though his life and conversation gave in evidence beyond gainsaying, that he was true man : Though the miracles and wonders he wrought in his life and death, resurrection and ascension, were witnesses undeniable, that he was true God : yet there arose a wretched generation of heretics, in the first, second, and third hundred years, who adventured not only against the express verdict of the Scripture, but against sense and experience, fresh in the observation and tradition of living men, with more than Satanical impudency to deny both the natures of our blessed Saviour.

Some denied the deity of our Saviour, and would have him mere man. As Ebrion, Cerinthus, Montanus, &c. Others deny him to be true man, as the Gnostici, Valentiniani, Marrionitæ.

Sometimes when men entertain the truth in profession, but not in the love of it, and that endeared affection, that is due thereunto, the Lord gives men up to the activity of error, as the Apostle speaks, because they did not love, that the truth should be truth, they embraced falsehood instead of truth, that so they might be deluded and damned. This made way for Antichrist, and did midwife that man of sin into the world, and by little and little advanced him

into his throne. For while men did verbally acknowledge the nature and offices of our Saviour, they did begin, though subtilly, yet really, to usurp the honor and exercise of all to themselves.

First, They began to encroach upon the *Priestly Office* of our Saviour, and not only to pray for the dead, but to pray to them, and to attribute too much to the martyrs and their worth ; and to derogate from the merits, and that plentiful and perfect redemption wrought alone by the Lord Jesus. The Spouse of Christ thus, like the unwise virgins, was taken aside with the slumber of idolatry, till at last she fell fast asleep as the following times give in abundant testimony. . . .

And thus at once they usurped upon the *Prophetical* and justled our Saviour also out of his *Regal office*, for so they are linked together by the Prophet. He is our King, he is our Law-giver ; it is in his power and pleasure to provide his own laws, and appoint the ways of his own worship.

Thus were the *Offices* of our Saviour secretly and cunningly undermined till at last that man of sin, seeing his time, and taking his advantage, adventured openly and impudently to challenge the chair of supremacy.

Boniface the Third obtained by policy and treachery, at the hand of Phocas for himself and his successors, that the Bishop of Rome, should be the head and chief Bishop of all Christian Churches.

But the one sword was not sufficient for Hildebrand, He rested not, until by his hellish contrivements he had got two swords, to fill both his hands withal, and a triple-crown upon his head, and carried it with mighty violence against the imperial majesty :

that whereas no Pope in former times might be chosen without the confirmation of the Emperor : so now no Emperor might be chosen without the confirmation of the Pope : as appears in the story of Henry the Emperor.

Thus while the Pope pretended to be the Vicar and Vicegerent of Christ, to supply his absence here on earth, by being *caput ministeriale* : in issue he justled him out of the room and right of his *Headship*.

He makes canons to bind conscience, and so assumes the place of the chief Prophet ; Gives dispensations, sends out indulgences, sells pardons, retains, and remits sins, improves the treasury of the Church to that end, and so challengeth the place of being chief Priest. Lastly, arrogates the plenitude and supremacy of power in causes ecclesiastic and civil, no less than two swords will satisfy, to fill both his hands, and a triple-crown to load his head withal, and thereby arrogates to be head of the Church.

When God had revenged the contempt of the authority of his son, by delivering up such contemners to the tyranny and slavery of Antichrist, by the space of many hundred years : That by their own experience they came to know the difference betwixt the service of God, and the slavery of men : the golden scepter of Christ, and the iron rod of Antichrist ; who tortured their consciences upon a continual rack, held their souls smoking over the mouth of the bottomless pit, put them into hell, and plucked them out at his pleasure, whence men desired to die, rather than to live.

They then began to sigh for some deliverance from

this spiritual, more than Egyptian bondage ; and being thus prepared to lend a listening ear unto the truth, God sent them some little reviving in their extremities, a day-star arising in this their darkness.

He stirred up the spirit of the Waldenses, Arma-  
chanus, Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who openly proclaimed the usurpations of that man of sin, stoutly asserted the fulness and sufficiency of the Scriptures, cleared and maintained the deciding authority thereof in all the ways and worship of God, and so set up the Lord Jesus, as the only *Prophet* of his Church.

After them succeeded Luther, who made a spoil of the Pope's treasury, marred wholly his market, and the sale of his indulgencies, and so wonderfully cooled and quenched the fire of Purgatory, and the Pope's kitchen : that his holiness, and the wretched rabble of all his black-guard, were forced to improve all their power and policy to crush the credit of that champion, and the authority of that doctrine which he taught, but all in vain. . . .

Only the *Supremacy of that Kingly Power*, upon which the Pope had encroached, and maintained the possession thereof so long, was yet retained and fortified (as reason would) with greatest resolution, nor could he suffer the appearance of any approach or battery to be erected, that might seem to hazard the safety of that, but he sets him fully and fiercely against Reformation, which sticks like the cunny-skin at the head principally.

Hence for the surprisal of so strong a piece, the Lord in his providence provided many means to make approaches thereunto by little and little. The Coun-

cils of Constance and Basel justled the Pope to the wall, and took the wall of him, made him lower than the council, but let him enjoy his headship over all his officers and particular churches.

King Henry the Eighth, he further clipped his wings in temporals, shook off and renounced that supremacy that he had arrogated and erected over kings and kingdoms in former ages : Only that is storied of him as his mistake, he cut off the head of Popery, but left the body of it (in Arch-Bishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Archdeacons,) yet within his realm, and the Churches there established.

He that will estrange his affection because of the difference of apprehension in things difficult he must be a stranger to himself one time or other. If men would be tender and careful to keep off offensive expressions they might keep some distance in opinion in some things without hazard to truth or love, but when men set up their sheaves (though it be but in a dream as Joseph's was) and fall out with every one that will not fall down and adore them, they will bring much trouble into the world, but little advantage to the truth or peace. . . .

The sum is, we doubt not what we practice, but it's beyond all doubt that all men are liars and we are in the number of those poor feeble men, either we do or may err, though we do not know it. What we have learned we do profess, and yet profess still to live that we may learn. . . .

That the discourse comes forth in such a homely dress and coarse habit, the reader must be desired to consider it comes out of the wilderness where curiosity is not studied. Planters if they can provide cloth to

go warm, they leave the cuts and lace to those that study to go fine.

As it is beyond my skill, so I profess it is beyond my care to please the niceness of men's palates with any quaintness of language. They who covet more sauce than meat they must provide cooks to their mind. It was a cavil cast upon Hierom, that in his writings he was *Ciceronianus non Christianus*. My rudeness frees me wholly from this exception . . . if I would I could not lavish out in looseness of language and, as the case stands, if I could answer any man's desire in that daintiness of speech I would not do the matter that injury which is now under my hand: *Ornari res ipsa negat*. . . . The substance and solidity of the frame is that which pleaseth the builder; it's the painter's work to provide varnish.

#### PART III, CHAPTER III. OF CENSURES.

The Lord Christ being a tender-hearted father to his Church as his family and household, he hath not only provided wholesome and choice diet, his holy and spiritual ordinances for the food and refreshing of the souls of his faithful . . . but he hath laid in purgatives as well as restoratives, and out of his infinite wisdom, who knows, to how many corrupt distempers, as so many hurtful and noisome diseases the saints are subject unto, he hath appointed Church-censures as good physic to purge out what is evil. . . . And his yearning compassion hath made him here so careful that he hath appointed each particular brother as a skilful apothecary to help forward the spiritual health of all

in confederacy with him. Hence all the members are made (as we have heard) watchmen over the welfare of their brethren, and by virtue of their consociation and combination have power over each other and a judicial way of process against each other in case of any sinful aberration. . . . Private offenses appear only to few, one or more ; and therefore they only are to proceed against them, in covering and hiding them from the apprehensions of others, as much as may be ; provided they can thereby attain an healing of them . . . but if the offense be famous and notorious at the first practice of it, as open drunkenness, swearing, stealing, lying, or that a brother, according to the rule of Christ, by reason of another's obstinacy be constrained to tell it to the Church and make it public . . . the offense must first be brought to the Elders and by them debated and delivered to the Church. . . . To them it appertains to judge whether the things be of weight and worth, and so need and require the presence and assistance of the body to express their judgment against them, and the party guilty of them or no, for if they be petty businesses and altogether unfit and unworthy to trouble the congregation withal, it is in their power to prevent such causeless and needless disturbance, and therefore to suppress any further proceeding therein. . . . But when all things are cleared, the native and naked state of the controversy laid forth and presented in the severals of it, even the meanest in the congregation will generally be able to see cause to join their judgments with the truth. . . . In the examination of controversies (because the eagerness of some spirits is inordinate in the pursuit of an offense too rigidly, and the pride of all men's hearts

generally is such, that though they can do shamefully, yet they are loath to bear the shame of it ; and therefore out of their waywardness and wiliness of heart are ready to wimble and wind out devices, that they may put by the dint of a discovering and convincing argument) he that complains must know two rules.

First that he must not dare to complain to the Elder of a Church unless he can plainly and peremptorily lay in his accusation of another, touching such speeches and carriages of which upon thorough search he is well assured . . . because I would prevent such weak and windy kind of expressions as too often we meet withal out of men's too-sudden pangs and heedless mistakes. "I take it so" ; "I conceive it so" ; "It was so reported" ; "I met with it on that manner" etc., when upon the search all these vanish as mistakes. The Word is, we must rebuke convictingly Matt. 18 : 15.

Secondly, as his accusation must be plain so his proofs must be direct and pregnant . . . there must be two witnesses to establish every word, except the things be otherways evidenced sufficiently as by confession of the party, etc.

On the Elders' parts two rules, if attended, make great riddance of occasions and prevent distempers. First, let the accusation be presently and exactly recorded together with the answer thereunto in like manner : for experience teacheth that in multiplicity of debates parties are apt to forget or else not willing to remember, and sometimes ready to mistake, add, alter, vary in expression, as they see there may any advantage come to their own or disadvantage to the contrary cause . . . secondly, let the Elders confine all

parties to the point in hand and not suffer them by extravagancies to darken the truth, disturb the proceedings and bring confusion to the whole debate. They are also, by their authority put into their hands, to forbid and restrain all personal and passionate expressions, and to constrain both sides to speak to the cause, and only to the cause in hand. . . .

The execution of the sentence issues in four things. First the cause exactly recorded is as fully and nakedly to be presented to the consideration of the Congregation. Secondly the Elders are . . . to express their judgment and determination thereof, so far as appertains to themselves. Thirdly, unless the people be able to convince them of error and mistakes in their sentence they are bound to join their judgment with theirs to the completing of the sentence. Fourthly, the sentence thus completely issued, is to be solemnly passed and pronounced upon the delinquent by the ruling Elder whether it be the sentence of admonition or excommunication.

“HELL TORMENTS, HOW IN SOME  
SORT TO JUDGE OF THEM.”

[FROM “THE SOUL’S PREPARATION FOR CHRIST; OR  
A TREATISE OF CONTRITION.” LONDON, 1632.]

FIRST, judge the lion by his paw, judge the torments of hell by some little beginning of it ; and the dregs of God’s vengeance, by some little sips of it ; and judge how unable thou art to bear the whole by thy inability to bear a little of it in this life, in the terror of conscience (as the wise man saith) *A wounded spirit who can bear?* When God lays the flashes of hell fire upon thy soul, thou canst not endure it : Whatsoever a man can inflict upon a poor wretch, may be borne ; but when the Almighty comes in battle array against a poor soul, how can he undergo it ? witness the Saints that have felt it, as also witness the wicked themselves, that have had some beginnings of hell in their consciences. When the Lord hath let in a little horror of heart into the soul of a poor sinful creature, how is he transported with an insupportable burthen ? *When it is day, he wisheth it were night, and when it is night, he wisheth it were day.* All the friends in the world cannot comfort him : nay, many have sought to hang themselves, to do any thing rather than to suffer a little vengeance of the Almighty : and one man is roaring and yelling, as if he were now in hell already, and admits of no comfort : if the drops be so heavy, what will the whole sea of God’s vengeance be ? If he cannot bear the one, how can he bear the other ?

Secondly, consider thine own strength, and compare it with all the strength of the creatures, and so if all the creatures be not able to bear the wrath of the Almighty, (as Job saith) *Is my strength the strength of stones? or is my flesh as brass that must bear thy wrath!* As if he had said, It must be a stone, or brass that must bear thy wrath. Though thou wert as strong as brass or stones, thou couldst not bear it : when the mountains tremble at the wrath of the Lord, shall a poor worm or bubble, and a shadow endure it?

Conceive thus much, if all the diseases in the world did seize on one man, and if all torments that all the tyrants in the world could devise, were cast upon him; and if all the creatures in heaven and earth did conspire the destruction of this man; and if all the devils in hell did labor to inflict punishments upon him, you would think this man to be in a miserable condition. And yet all this is but a beam of God's indignation. If the beams of God's wrath be so hot, what is the full sun of his wrath, when it shall seize upon the soul of a sinful creature in full measure?

## GOD'S MERCY AND HIS JUSTICE.

[FROM THE SAME.]

SECONDLY, if this will not work upon you, if you have no good nature in you, consider that God is just too; if mercy cannot prevail with you, you shall have justice enough, and that without mercy; you must not think to slight God's mercy, and carry it away

in that fashion. But God is a just God, as he is a gracious God, he will be revenged of you. If any stubborn heart shall say, God is merciful, and therefore we may live as we list, and be as careless as we please: take heed, that just law that hath been condemned, and those righteous statutes that have been broken, and God that hath been provoked by you will be revenged of you. Did ever any provoke the Lord and prosper? and shall you begin? Where is Nimrod, and Nebuchadnezzar, and Pharaoh, and Herod, and those proud persons that set their mouths against God, and their hearts against heaven; what is now become of them? they are now in the lowermost pit of hell.

“THE TEXT SAITH SO.”

[FROM THE SAME.]

How many notorious vile wretches may say, Good Lord, what will become of our families, and villages? we are all opposers of God and his grace, shall *all be damned*? I dare not say what God will do to thee, the text saith so. This methinks might lie as poison and rats-bane upon the heart of a sinful creature: the Lord in mercy look upon you, and make sin as loathsome and bitter unto you, as ever it hath been sweet and pleasant. You see how the matter will go with you: you that thus jibe and jest at the Saints, and sport yourselves in sin; the time may come that it will be a dry feast, as it was with Dives that was drunk, and *fared deliciously every day*;

he had a dry feast in hell, and could not have *a drop of water to cool his tongue*. So it will be with you ; you must either buckle and mourn for sin, or else burn forever.

## GOD'S ENDLESS MERCY.

[FROM THE SAME.]

O THEREFORE let us admire and bless this good God, and not quarrel with his Ministers, nor providence, and say, Other men have comfort, and therefore why am I so troubled and disquieted? How now? it is endless mercy that thou livest, therefore down with thy proud heart, and stifle those distempers of spirit, and say, The Lord hath broken and wounded me, but blessed be his name, that I may come to Church, and that he hath not dealt with me as I have deserved, but in goodness and mercy ; I hope God in his season will do good to my soul.

Secondly, let us be wise to nourish this same blessed work in our hearts for ever ; let us have our hearts more and more strengthened, because thereby our hearts will be more and more enabled to bear and undergo any thing ; if you have but a little glimpse of hope, cover it : and labor to maintain it, and if ever God let in any glimpse of mercy into our hearts, let it not go out : it is ever good to take that way that God takes ; the Lord sustains our hearts with hope : hope is the sinews of the soul, therefore strengthen it.

As a mariner that is tossed with a tempest in a dark night, when he sees no stars, he casts anchor, and that cheers him ; this hope is the anchor of the soul,

whereby it looks out, and expects mercy from God : the poor soul seeth no light nor comfort, nothing but the wrath of an angry God ; and he saith, God is a just God, and a jealous God ; even that God whose truth I have opposed is displeased with me. Then the soul is tossed and troubled, and runs upon the rocks of despair ; how shall the soul be supported in this condition ? You will find this true one day, therefore look to it before. You vile drunkards are now sailing in a fair gale of pleasure, and carnal delight, but when the Lord's wrath shall seize upon you, when he shall let in the flashes of hell fire, then you are tossed, sometimes up to heaven, now down to hell. Therefore cast anchor now, and this hope will uphold you, for this *hope is called the anchor of the soul.*

## THOMAS SHEPARD.

THOMAS SHEPARD, a distinguished Puritan divine and "soul-melting preacher," was born in Colchester, England, in 1605, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1649. A university graduate, like most of his fellows, he was ordained priest in the English Church, and silenced in 1630 by Laud. He remained in England till 1635, emigrated then to America, was settled in Boston, and soon after succeeded Hooker at Cambridge, taking an active part in the Antinomian controversy and in the founding of Harvard University. He was thrice married. The grief which he expresses in the extract here given was for his second spouse, a daughter of his predecessor at Cambridge. It is a uniquely naïve tribute to mutual ministration. Shepard was a voluminous writer, intoxicated with the thought of the immanent presence of God, and distilling the essence of Calvinism for the most cultured congregation in New England. Grim as was his theology, he seems to have been personally most affable, though he reveals himself in his autobiography as somewhat morbid. As a writer he shows the simpler virtues and some of the artifices of style. As a theologian his repute endured longer than that of most of his fellow Brahmins. An edition of his writings, for use and not for curiosity, was issued, with a memoir by Rev. John A. Albro, in 1853.

FROM THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.<sup>1</sup>

DEDICATION.

TO MY DEARE SON,

THOMAS SHEPARD,

With whom I leave these records of God's great  
kindness to him, not knowing that I shall live  
to tell them myselfe with my own mouth,  
that so he may learne to know and  
love the great & most high  
God,

THE GOD OF HIS FATHER.

[FROM THE INTRODUCTION.]

AND thus after about eleven weeks' sail from Old England, we came to New England shore : where the mother fell sick of a consumption and you, my child, were put to nurse to one Goodwife Hopkins, who was very tender of thee ; and after we had been here divers weeks, on the 7th of February or thereabout, God gave thee the ordinance of baptism, whereby God is become thy God, and is beforehand with thee, that whenever you shall return to God,

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Nehemiah Adams, 1832. The Dedication is not an exact reproduction.

he will undoubtedly receive you ; and this is a most high and happy privilege ; and therefore bless God for it. And now after this had been done, thy dear mother died in the Lord, departing out of this world to another, who did lose her life by being careful to preserve thine ; for in the ship thou wert so feeble and froward both in the day and night, that hereby she lost her strength, and at last her life. She hath made also many a prayer and shed many a tear in secret for thee ; and this hath been often her request that if the Lord did not intend to glorify Himself by thee, that He would cut thee off by death rather than to live to dishonor Him by sin ; and therefore know it that if you shall turn rebel against God and forsake God, and care not for the knowledge of Him nor to believe in His Son the Lord will make all these mercies, woes ; and all thy mother's prayers, tears, and death to be a swift witness against thee at the great day.

Thus the Lord taking away thy dear mother's life, the Lord takes care for thee and preserved thee in health until the Spring, May 1, 1636. And now the hand of the Lord was stretched out against my child ; so that he had for divers weeks a sore mouth, both within and without ; cheeks and lips full of blisters, so as that he could eat no meat, only suck the breast, by which only he lived a long time, which I did think would have been its death again ; but the Lord being sought unto recovered him again, and then the humor fell into his eyes, . . . which was such a misery that methought now I had rather that the Lord would take away my child by death than let it lead a blind and a miserable life ; but the Lord

saw my sorrows, my tears, my poor prayers which were in bitterness for him ; and after that I had concluded I must have a blind child to be a constant sorrow to me till my death, and was made to be contented to bear the indignation of the Lord because I had sinned, resolving now to fear, nor care nor grieve no more but to be thankful, nay to love the Lord, presently I say upon this by a poor weak means, vizt. the oil of white paper, the Lord restored my child to his sight suddenly and strangely, I may almost say miraculously again, which was no small joy to me and no little encouragement to do the Lord's work that took so much care for me and mine. Now consider, my son, and remember to lift up thy eyes to heaven, to God in everlasting praises of him and dependence upon him ; and take heed thou dost not make thy eyes windows of lust, but give thy eyes, nay thy heart and whole soul and body to him that hath been so careful of thee when thou couldst not care for thyself.

## HERETICS AND PEQUOTS.

No sooner were we thus set down and entered into Church fellowship ; but the Lord exercised us and the whole country with the opinions of Familists begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane, too suddenly chosen Governor, and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by the members of Boston, and some in other churches, by means of which divisions by those opinions, the ancient received truth

came to be darkened, God's name to be blasphemed, the church's glory diminished, many godly grieved, many wretches hardened, deceiving and being deceived, growing worse and worse ; . . . At this time I cannot omit the goodness of God as to myself so to all the country in delivering us from the Pekoat furies. . . . those upon the river first gathered about seventy men and sent them into the Pekoat country to make that the seat of war and to revenge the death of those innocents whom they barbarously and most unnaturally slew. . . . they intended to assault Sasukus Fort, but falling short of it the second night the providence of God guided them to another nearer, full of stout men and there brought soldiers, being, as it were, cooped up there, to the number of three or four hundred in all for the Divine slaughter by the hand of the English. . . . Until the Lord had utterly consumed the whole company except four or five girls they took prisoners and dealt with them at Seabrooke as they dealt with ours at Wethersfield, and it is verily thought scarce one man escaped. . . .

## THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

THUS the Lord having delivered the country from war with Indians and Familists (who arose and fell together), he was pleased to direct the hearts of the magistrates . . . to think of erecting a school or college and that speedily to be a nursery of knowledge in these deserts and supply for posterity, and because this town (then called Newtown) was hereto [by]

God's great care and goodness kept spotless from the contagion of the opinions, therefore at the desire of some of our town the deputies of the Court having got Mr. Eaton to attend the school, the Court for that and sundry other reasons determined to erect the college here, which was no sooner done but the chief of the magistrates and elders sent to England to desire help to forward this work, but they all neglecting us (in a manner) the Lord put it into the heart of one Mr. Harvard, who died worth £1600, to give half of his estate to the erecting of the school. This man was a scholar and pious in his life and enlarged toward the country and the good of it in life and death, but no sooner was this given but Mr. Eaton (professing valiantly yet falsely and most deceitfully the fear of God) did lavish out a great part of it, and being for his cruelty to his scholars, especially to one Biscoe, as also for some other wantonness in life not so notoriously known, driven the country; the Lord about a year after graciously made up the breach by one Mr. Dunstar, a man pious, painful, and fit to teach and very fit to lay the foundations of the domestic affairs of the college; whom God hath much honored and blest. . . . But thus the Lord hath been very good unto me in planting the place I lived in with such a mercy to myself, such a blessing to my children and the country, such an opportunity of doing good to many by doing good to students, as the school is.

## A DOMESTIC OBITUARY, OCTOBER, 1637.

THE year after those wars in the country God having taken away my first wife, the Lord gave me a second, the eldest daughter of Mr. Hooker, a blessed store ; and the Lord hath made her a great blessing to me to carry on matters in the family with much care and wisdom and to seek the Lord God of her father. . . .

But the Lord hath not been wont to let me live long without some affliction or other ; and yet ever mixed with some mercy. And therefore, April the 2d, 1646, as he gave me another son, John, so he took away my most dear, precious, meek, and loving wife ; having left behind her two hopeful branches, my dear children, Samuel and John. This affliction was very heavy to me ; for in it the Lord seemed to withdraw his tender care for me and mine, which he graciously manifested by my dear wife ; also refused to hear prayer, when I did think he would have hearkened and let me see his beauty in the land of the living, in restoring of her to health again ; also, in taking her away in the prime time of her life, when she might have lived to have glorified the Lord long ; also, in threatening me to proceed in rooting out my family, and that he would not stop, having begun here, as in Eli, for not being zealous enough against the sins of his son, and I saw that if I had profited by former afflictions of this nature, I should not have had this scourge ; but I am the Lord's, and he may do with me what he will ; he did teach me to prize a little grace, gained by a cross, as a sufficient recompense

for all outward losses ; but this loss was very great ; she was a woman of incomparable meekness of spirit, toward myself especially, and very loving ; of great prudence to take care for and order my family affairs, being neither too lavish nor sordid in any thing, so that I knew not what was under her hands: She had an excellency to reprove for sin, and discern the evils of men. She loved God's people dearly, and [was] studious to profit by their fellowship, and therefore loved their company. She loved God's word exceedingly, and hence was glad she could read my notes, which she had to muse on every week. She had a spirit of prayer beyond ordinary of her time and experience. She was fit to die long before she did die, even after the death of her first-born, which was a great affliction to her. But her work not being done then, she lived almost nine years with me, and was the comfort of my life to me ; and the last sacrament before her lying-in seemed to be full of Christ, and thereby fitted for heaven. She did oft say she should not outlive this child ; and when her fever first began (by taking some cold) she told me so, that we should love exceedingly together, because we should not live long together. Her fever took away her sleep ; want of sleep wrought much distemper in her head, and filled it with fantasies and distractions, but without raging. The night before she died, she had about six hours' unquiet sleep. But that so cooled and settled her head, that when she knew none else, so as to speak to them, yet she knew Jesus Christ, and could speak to him ; and therefore, as soon as she awakened out of sleep, she brake out into a most heavenly, heart-breaking prayer, after Christ,

her dear Redeemer, for the spirit of life, and so continued praying until the last hour of her death, “Lord, though I [am] unworthy, Lord, one word, one word,” etc. ; and so gave up the ghost : thus God hath visited and scourged me for my sins, and sought to wean me from this world. But I have ever found it a difficult thing to profit even but a little by the sorest and sharpest afflictions.

SELECTIONS FROM THE “MEDITATIONS AND SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES.”

JANUARY 9 [1640]. As I was walking in my study, musing on my sermon in Q, 10. That God’s mercy was himself, as his justice also was ; the one to the men that come to Christ ; and to those that are out of Christ, the other. Hence I considered, when I come to Christ there is no wrath or justice to devour, but sweet love. Wrath there is for refusing him, not else. It was then objected, But it is to the Elect only. The Lord let me then see I had nothing to do with that but to look on his truth, which is to them that come to him, that he would stand as a rock between the scorching sun and their souls. Hence my heart was sweetly ravished, and began to long to die, and think of being with him. And my heart said, Remember to comfort yourself thus, when you come to lie on your sick bed, to lie under this rock, as in a hot day. If one saw a

rock in a hot day, should he say, that rock will cool me if I be elected to it, and God has purposed it ; so keep off in fears ? No, God has purposed thus to be a rock to all that come to him, and are drawn by his love. . . .

January 19. I saw my loose walking without God ; and so was put to a stand, what to say of myself. I saw that hypocrites are far from humbling, because far from conviction : they hope something there is in them. But I brought my heart to consider thus, If my state is good, then there is cause of deeper mourning for abusing the Lord, so good ; or my state is not good, and then there is cause of breaking because I am so wretched still ; and so I went to prayer. . . .

March 17. I began to question, whether Christians generally were so good as they seemed to be ? I thought, [1] They were not so good as the Lord would have them to be, from two arguments. (1) From the want of assurance generally among men. Which argues God is angry, when he doth not appear according as he doth use to do to them who love his name. (2) Because men are better generally under the rod, than under mercy. We see what an admirable Spirit there is under sore afflictions, which men cannot attain to, or keep, but then. Now [2dly] I thought that men were not so good as they appeared to be, (1) Because very few are recovered to that frame before death, which God will bring them to, that get assurance. Few recover holiness by mercy, or feel the eternal good of sore afflictions. (2) Because many eminent professors fall off and fall away. If they continue long, by some trial or other

they are made transparent. (3) Because, though others of less holiness may be upright ; yet for us that have more means, not to be more holy and humble, nay not so humble and holy as those that want means, cannot stand with uprightness, generally. My counsel therefore is, Let all take heed of being led by example of men, and thinking, We are good because we are like them that be so. . . .

On the evening of this day [July 9] before the sacrament, I saw it my duty to sequester myself from all other things for the Lord the next day. And (1) I saw, I was to pitch on the right end, (2) on the means, all things to lead me to that end. I saw mine own ends were, to procure honor, pleasure, gain to myself and not the Lord : and I saw how impossible it was for me to attain those ends I should attain, viz., To seek the Lord for himself, to lay up all my honor, pleasure, etc., in him. Or if I did, it was for myself, because good unto me. So the Lord helped me thus. To see,

(1) If honor, pleasure was good ; Oh, how good was he who gave them, and could have cut me short of them ? And so my heart was raised up a little unto God.

(2) I saw my blessedness did not chiefly lie in receiving good and comfort from God, and in God ; but in holding forth the glory of God and his virtues. For 'tis, I saw, an amazing, glorious object, to see God in a creature ; God speak, God act ; the Deity not being the creature and turned into it, but filling of it, shining through it ; to be covered with God, as with a cloud ; or as a glass lantern, to have his beams penetrate through it. Nothing is good but

God ; and I am no further good, than as I hold forth God. The Devil overcame Eve to damn herself by telling her she should be like God. O that's a glorious thing ! And should not I be holy, and so be like him indeed ?

Hereupon I found my heart more sweetly drawn to close with God, thus as my end, and to place my happiness in it. And also I saw, it was my misery to hold forth sin and Satan and self in my course. And I saw one of those two things I must do. Now because my soul wanted pleasure, I purposed thus to hold forth God, and did hope it should be my pleasure so to do, as it would be my pain to do otherwise. . . .

November 14. On the Sabbath day, at night, after sermon, I saw I had preached to others, and had not fed myself. And I seeing it did arise from weakness of faith and light, the Lord suggested the one hundred and third Psalm to me, "He heals all thine infirmities," which quieted my soul somewhat.

December 18. I saw it my duty so to lament my sin, as that my sorrow should swallow up all the joy I took in anything in this world. And here I remembered what it was to afflict one's soul, viz. to make sin as bitter as affliction, and to make it my affliction.

## THE FATE OF THE EVIL SOUL.

[FROM *The Sincere Convert*, 1641, CHAP. III.]

WHAT will become of thine immortal soul when thou art dead ? Thou sayest : "I know not, I hope well." I tell thee therefore that which may send

thee mourning to thy house, and quaking to thy grave ; if thou diest in this estate, thou shalt not die like a dog, nor yet like a toad ; but after death comes judgment ; then farewell friends when dying ; and farewell God forever when thou art dead. . . .

Then shall God surrender up thy forsaken soul into the hands of devils, who being thy jailors, must keep thee till the great day of account ; so that as thy friends are scrambling for thy goods, and worms for thy body, so devils shall scramble for thy soul. For as soon as ever a wicked man is dead, he is either in Heaven or in Hell. Not in Heaven, for no unclean thing comes there ; if in Hell then amongst devils ; there shall be thine eternal lodging, and hence thy forlorn soul shall lie mourning for the time past, now, 't is too late to recall again ; groaning under the intolerable torments of the wrath of God present, and amazed at the eternity of misery and sorrow that is to come, waiting for that fearful hour when the last trump shall blow, and then body and soul meet to bear that wrath, that fire that shall never go out. Oh, therefore suspect and fear the worst of thyself now ! . . .

. . . In regard of the fearful sentence that then shall be passed upon thee : “ Depart, thou cursed creature, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels ! ” Thou shalt then cry out : “ O mercy Lord ! O a little mercy ! ” “ No,” will the Lord Jesus say, “ I did indeed once offer it you, but you refused ; therefore Depart ! ”

Then thou shalt plead again : “ Lord, if I must depart, yet bless me before I go ! ”

“ No, no, Depart, thou cursed ! ”

“O, but Lord, if I must depart cursed let me go to some good place !”

“No! Depart, thou cursed, into hell fire !”

“O Lord, that’s a torment I cannot bear ; but if it must be so, Lord, let me come out again quickly !”

“No, Depart, thou cursed, into everlasting fire !”

“O Lord, if this be thy pleasure that here I must abide let me have good company with me !”

“No ! Depart, thou cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels !”

This shall be thy sentence, the hearing of which may make the rocks to rent. . . .

. . . Thus (I say) thou shalt lie blaspheming, with God’s wrath like a pile of fire on thy soul burning, and floods, nay seas, nay more, seas of tears (for thou shalt forever lie weeping) shall never quench it. And here, which way soever thou lookest, thou shalt see matter of everlasting grief. Look up to heaven, and there thou shalt see (Oh !) that God is forever gone. Look about thee, thou shalt see devils quaking, cursing God ; and thousands, nay, millions of sinful damned creatures crying and roaring out with doleful shriekings : “O the day that ever I was born !” Look within thee, there is a guilty conscience gnawing. Look to time~past ; O those golden days of grace and sweet seasons of mercy are quite lost and gone ! Look to time to come ; there thou shalt behold evils, troops and swarms of sorrows, and woes and raging waves and billows of wrath coming roaring upon thee. Look to time present ; oh, not an hour or moment of ease or refreshing, but all curses meet together, and feeding upon one poor, lost, immortal Soul, that never can

be recovered again ! No God, no Christ, no Spirit to comfort thee, no minister to preach unto thee ; no friend to wipe away thy continual tears, no sun to shine upon thee, not a bit of bread, not one drop of water to cool thy tongue !

## NINE EASY WAYS TO HELL.

[FROM THE SAME, CHAP. V.]

THE gate is strait, and therefore a man must sweat and strive to enter ; both the entrance is difficult and the progress of salvation too. Jesus Christ is not got with a wet finger. It is not wishing and desiring to be saved will bring men to Heaven ; Hell's mouth is full of good wishes. It is not shedding a tear at a sermon, or blubbering now and then in a corner, and saying over thy prayers, and crying God's mercy for thy sins, will save thee. It is not a " Lord, have mercy upon us," will do thee good. It is not coming constantly to church ; these are easy matters. But it is a tough work, a wonderful hard matter to be saved. Hence the way to heaven is compared to a race, where a man must put forth all his strength and stretch every limb and all to get forward. Hence a Christian's life is compared to wrestling, Eph. vi. 12. All the policy and power of Hell buckle together against a Christian, therefore he must look to himself, or else he falls. Hence it is compared to fighting, 2 Tim. iv. 7, as man must fight against the Devil, the world, himself, who shoot poisoned bullets in the soul, where a man must kill or be killed. God hath

not lined the way to heaven with velvet, nor strewed it with rushes. He will never feed a slothful humor in man, who will be saved if Christ and Heaven will drop into their mouths, and if any would bear their charges thither. If Christ might be bought for a few cold wishes and lazy desires, he would be of small reckoning among men, who would say : “Lightly come, lightly go.” Indeed Christ’s yoke is easy in itself, and when a man is got into Christ, nothing is so sweet ; but for a carnal, dull heart, it is hard to draw in it. . . .

Now there are nine easy Ways to Heaven (as men think) all of which lead to Hell.

1. The common broad Way, wherein a whole parish may all go abroadth in it ; tell these people they shall be damned ; their answer is, “Then woe to many more besides me.”

2. The Way of Civil Education ; whereby many wild natures are by little and little tamed, and like wolves are chained up easily while they are young.

3. Balaam’s Way of good Wishes ; whereby many people will confess their ignorance, forgetfulness, and that they can not make such shows as others do, but they thank God their hearts are as good, and God for his part accepts (say they) the will for the deed. And, “My son, give me thine heart ;” the heart is all in all, and so long they hope to do well enough. Poor deluded creatures, thus to think to break through armies of sins, devils, temptations, and to break open the very gates of heaven with a few good wishes ! They think to come to their journey’s end without legs, because their hearts are good to God.

4. The Way of Formality ; whereby men rest in the performance of most or of all external duties without inward life. Every man must have some religion, some fig-leaves to hide their nakedness. Now this religion must be either true religion, or the false one ; if the true he must either take up the power of it, but that he will not, because it is burdensome ; or the form of it, and this being easy, men embrace it as their God, and will rather lose their lives than their religion thus taken up. . . .

5. The Way of Presumption ; whereby men having seen their sins, catch hold easily upon God's mercy, and snatch comforts before they are reached out unto them. There is no word of comfort in the Book of God intended for such as regard iniquity in their hearts, though they do not act it in their lives. Their only comfort is that the sentence of damnation is not yet executed upon them.

6. The Way of Sloth ; whereby men lie still and say " God must do all." If the Lord would set up a pulpit at the ale-house door, it may be they would hear oftener. If God will always thunder, they will always pray ; if he strike them now and then with sickness, God shall be paid with good words and promises enough, that they will be better if they live ; but as long as peace lasts they will run to Hell as fast as they can ; and if God will not catch them they care not, they will not return. . . .

7. The Way of Carelessness, when men feeling many difficulties, pass through some of them, but not all, and what they can not get now, they feed themselves with a false hope they shall hereafter. They are content to be called precisians and fools, and

crazy brains, but they want brokenness of heart, and they will pray (it may be) for it, and pass by that difficulty ; but to keep the wound always open, this they will not do, to be always sighing for help, and never to give themselves rest till their hearts are humbled ; that they will not. These have a name to live, yet are dead.

8. The Way of Moderation or honest Discretion, which indeed is nothing but luke-warmness of the soul, and that is when a man contrives and cuts out such a way to Heaven, as he may be hated of none, but please all, and so do any thing for a quiet life and so sleep in a whole skin. . . .

9. And lastly, the Way of Self-Love ; whereby a man fearing terribly he shall be damned, useth diligently all means whereby he shall be saved. Here is the strongest difficulty of all, to row against the stream, and to hate a man's self, and then to follow Christ fully. . . .

## JUDGMENT AND MERCY.

[FROM "THE PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS  
OPENED AND APPLIED," PART II. XIX. SECTION  
xiii. 1659.]

*Motive 1.* Consider the lamentable end of one who dies unready ; some (not all) the Lord leaves for terrors to the secure world, who are as good as men risen from the dead, to tell men of the vanity of their sinful courses, who looking upon time past, they see that it is irrevocably lost and passed, away

as a dream, and lost as a shadow ; look upon time present, they felt their souls left naked, their accounts not made, an end come to all their hopes and comforts here, their body sick, their conscience trembling, if not tearing their hearts hard, God departed, the grave opened for their filthy carcasses, and devils waiting for their secure souls. And now, say such, what profit have I for all my vanity under the sun ? Look to time to come ; there they see the throne set, the Lord Jesus on it, their souls standing naked before him, whose grace was great toward them whiles they lived, but whose face is now a consuming fire ; and they behold eternity, even that eternal black gulf between them and the Lord ; and here they lie wishing they had taken their time, professing now their time is lost, beseeching others to take warning by them, desiring the prayers of others, yet thinking, though Noah and Samuel should stand before the Lord for them, there is no hope. Come and see them. Do not cast away mercy, cast not away that blood, which is worthy to be gathered up by blessed angels in vessels of gold ; lament and return, and the Lord will to you : . . .

*Motive 2.* Consider thou hast but a short time to prepare in, and the time will be then, when thou dost least think of it, Luke xii, 46. The Lord's arrows are now flying abroad ; if you did think you should be next smitten down dead, you would prepare ; but you think the Lord delays his coming ; O, remember that time thou dost least think of, Christ will come. . . .

"ALL SHALL BE IN VAIN."

[FROM THE SAME, PART II. XIX. SECTION XVI.]

— AND hence exceeding wrath is shown, in denying for a time to hear prayer many times ; now look upon the condition of poor sinners dying without Christ ; they shall then cry, and cry earnestly, and yet not prevail ; if the wrath of God did break out at this time, and lie heavy, and the Lord say, Now cry, and I will deliver ; it was no such sorrow, though bitter enough, to lie under wrath one moment ; but to cry, and cry vehemently, Lord, Lord, and never be heard, O, who can bear this ? then torments are intolerable ; hath the Lord no pity ? then cries are many, and hearts are faint ; hath Christ no bowels ? hath this Lamb no more meekness, gentleness ? Yes, that there is ; but such is his terror now, they are shut up from you ; and so shall ever be, though you shall cry, and weep as many tears, and more too than the sea hath drops ; and when you cannot come before his face, the gate being shut, you shall cry, that the rocks and mountains may fall upon you to hide you from this wrath of the Lamb ; and you shall then cry, Behold, and see, if ever sorrow were like mine ! but all shall be in vain !

## NATHANIEL WARD.

NATHANIEL WARD, a Colonial clergyman and pamphleteer, who is best known as the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," was probably born in Haverhill, England, about 1578, and died at Shenfield, England, in 1652. Son of John Ward, a noted Puritan minister, he was graduated at Cambridge, in 1603, and educated for the law, but after practice in England, and travel on the Continent, he studied theology, and in 1618 became chaplain to a company of English merchants at Elbing, Prussia. Returning to England, he served in London, and in 1628 was given a parish in Essex. Here his pronounced Puritanism caused him to be summoned before Laud, but he escaped excommunication. He was, however, deprived of his living in 1633, went to New England in 1634, and served as assistant pastor at Agawam (Ipswich), till ill-health obliged him to surrender the charge in 1636. At Ipswich he helped to compile the first code of laws, The Body of Liberties (1641), which was fearless and somewhat radical in adapting legal philosophy to the needs of a democratic community. The *Simple Cobbler* was begun in 1645 and printed in January, 1647, before Ward's return to England. Three other editions, with important additions and changes, speedily followed. It was reprinted in 1713 and again in 1843

at Boston. Under the Commonwealth, Ward was made minister of the church at Shenfield (1648), and held that office till his death, publishing several religious-political pamphlets, none of which is noteworthy. The *Simple Cobbler* is a small book, easily read through, and in spite of its bitterness, and its lack of toleration, so full of quaint originality, grim humor and power, that it is probably the most interesting literary performance with which we have to deal in this volume.

THE  
SIMPLE COBLER  
OF  
AGGAWAM IN AMERICA  
WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably  
tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole,  
with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to be paid for his work,  
by Old English wonted pay.  
*It is his trade to patch all the year long, gratis*  
Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

---

BY THEODORE DE LA GUARD

---

*In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima  
quaeque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.*

IN ENGLISH

When boots and shoes are torne up to the lefts,  
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm:*  
*Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.*

---

LONDON

Printed by J. D. & R. I. for Stephen Bowtell, at the  
signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

## AGAINST TOLERATION.

EITHER I am in an appoplexy, or that man is in a lethargy who doth not now sensibly feel God shaking the heavens over his head and the earth under his feet. . . . Satan is now in his passions, he feels his passion approaching, he loves to fish in royled waters. Though that dragon cannot sting the vitals of the elect mortally, yet that Beelzebub can fly-blow their intellectuals miserably. The finer religion grows, the finer he spins his cobwebs, he will hold pace with Christ so long as his wits will serve him.

. . . We have been reputed a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow-room for our fanatic doctrines and practices. I trust our diligence past, and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. I dare take upon me to be the herald of New England so far as to proclaim to the world in the name of our colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other enthusiasts, shall have free liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better. . . .

Here is lately brought us an extract of a Magna Charta so called, compiled between the sub-planters of a West Indian Island ; whereof the first article of consituplation, firmly provides free stable room and litter for all kind of consciences, be they never so

dirty or jadish ; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturb any man in his religlon, or to commend it, whatever it be. . . . If the devil might have his free option I believe he would ask nothing else but liberty to enfranchise all false religions and to embondage the truth ; nor should he need. . . .

My heart hath naturally detested four things ; The Standing of the Apochrypha in the Bible ; Foreigners dwelling in my country, to crowd our native subjects into the corners of the earth ; Alchymized coins ; Toleration of divers religions or of one religion in segregant shapes. He that willingly assents to the last, if he examines his heart by daylight, his conscience will tell him he is either an Atheist or an Heretic or an Hypocrite or at best a captive to some lust. Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the world. . . . I lived in a city, where a Papist preached in one church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third ; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same pulpit ; the religion of that place was but motley and meager, their affections, leopard-like. . . . To authorize an untruth, by a toleration of State is to build a sconce against the walls of heaven to batter God out of His chair. . . .

## A WISE STATE WILL COMPOSE, NOT TOLERATE DIFFERENCES IN RELI- GION.

THAT State is wise, that will improve all pains and patience rather to compose, then tolerate differences in religion. There is no divine truth, but hath much

celestial fire in it from the Spirit of Truth : nor no irreligious untruth, without its proportion of antifire from the spirit of error to contradict it : the zeal of the one, the virulency of the other, must necessarily kindle combustions. Fiery diseases seated in the spirit, imbroider the whole frame of the body : others more external and cool, are less dangerous. They which divide in religion, divide in God ; they who divide in him, divide beyond *Genus Generalissimum*, where there is no reconciliation, without atonement ; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is also one.

Wise are those men who will be persuaded rather to live within the pale of truth where they may be quiet, than in the purlieus, where they are sure to be haunted ever and anon, do authority what it can. Every singular opinion, hath a singular opinion of itself ; and he that holds it a singular opinion of himself, and a simple opinion of all contra-sentients : he that confutes them, must confute at three at once, or else he does nothing ; which will not be done without more stir than the peace of the State or Church can endure.

And prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazard all by yielding nothing. To sell all peace of country, to buy some peace of conscience unseasonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience : they deal not equally, that set any truth of God at such a rate ; but they deal wisely that will stay till the market is fallen.

My prognostics deceive me not a little, if once within three seven years, peace prove not such a

penny-worth at most marts in Christendom, that he that would not lay down his money, his lust, his opinion, his will, I had almost said the best flower of his crown for it, while he might have had it, will tell his own heart, he played the very ill husband.

Concerning tolerations I may further assert.

That persecution of true religion and toleration of false, are the *Jannes* and *Jambres* to the Kingdom of Christ, whereof the last is far the worst. *Augustine's* tongue had not owed his mouth one pennyrent though he had never spake word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi.*

*Frederick* Duke of *Saxon*, spake not one foot beyond the mark when he said. He had rather the earth should swallow him up quick, than he should give a toleration to any opinion against any truth of God.

He that is willing to tolerate any religion, or discrepant way of religion, besides his own, unless it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not sincere in it.

He that is willing to tolerate any unsound opinion, that his own may also be tolerated, though never so sound, will for a need hang God's Bible at the Devil's girdle.

Every toleration of false religions, or opinions hath as many errors and sins in it, as all the false religions and opinions it tolerates, and one sound one more.

That state that will give liberty of conscience in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws, or else the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.

He that will rather make an irreligious quarrel with

other religions than try the Truth of his own by valuable arguments, and peaceable sufferings ; either his religion, or himself is irreligious.

Experience will teach Churches and Christians, that it is far better to live in a state united, though a little corrupt, then in a state, whereof some part is incorrupt, and all the rest divided.

I am not altogether ignorant of the eight rules given by orthodox divines about giving tolerations, yet with their favour I dare affirm,

That there is no Rule given by God for any state to give an affirmative toleration to any false religion, or opinion whatsoever ; they must connive in some cases, but may not concede in any.

That the state of England (so far as my intelligence serves) might in time have prevented with ease and may yet without any great difficulty deny both toleration, and irregular connivences *salva Republica*.

That if the state of England shall either willingly tolerate, or weakly connive at such courses, the church of that kingdom will sooner become the devil's dancing-school, than God's temple : The Civil State a bear-garden, than an exchange : The whole Realm a Pais base than an England. And what pity it is, that that country which hath been the staple of truth to all Christendom, should now become the aviary of errors to the whole world, let every fearing heart judge.

I take liberty of conscience to be nothing but a freedom from sin and error. *Conscientia in tantum libera in quantum ab errore liberata*. And liberty of error nothing but a prison for conscience. Then small will be the kindness of a state to build such prisons for their subjects.

The Scripture saith, there is nothing makes free but truth, and truth saith, there is no truth but one: If the States of the World would make it their sumptuous care to preserve this one truth in its purity and authority it would ease you of all other political cares. I am sure Satan makes it his grand, if not only task, to adulterate truth; Falsehood is his sole sceptre, whereby he first ruffled, and ever since ruined the World.

If truth be but one, methinks all the opinionists in England should not be all in that one truth, some of them I doubt are out. He that can extract an unity out of such a disparity, or contract such a disparity into an unity; had need be a better artist, than ever was *Drebell*.

If two centres (as we may suppose) be in one circle, and lines drawn from both to all the points of the compass, they will certainly cross one another, and probably cut through the centres themselves.

There is talk of an universal toleration, I would talk as loud as I could against it, did I know what more apt and reasonable sacrifice England could offer to God for his late performing all his heavenly truths than an universal toleration of all hellish errors, or how they shall make an universal reformation, but by making Christ's academy the Devil's university, where any man may commence heretic *per saltum*; where he that is *filius Diabolicus*, or *simpliciter pessimus*, may have his grace to go to Hell *cum Publico Privilegio*; and carry as many after him, as he can. . . .

It is said, though a man have light enough himself to see the truth, yet if he hath not enough to enlighten others, he is bound to tolerate them, I will engage

my self, that all the devils in *Britanie* shall sell themselves to their shirts, to purchase a lease of this position for three of their lives, under the seale of the Parliament.

It is said, that men ought to have liberty of their conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it : I can rather stand amazed than reply to this : it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance. Let all the wits under the heavens lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the universal idiot of the world.

It is said, That civill magistrates ought not to meddle with ecclesiastical matters.

I would answer to this so well as I could, did I not know that some papers lately brought out of New-England, are going to the Press, wherein the opinions of the Elders there in a late Synod, concerning this point are manifested, which I suppose will give clearer satisfaction than I can.

The true English of all this their false Latin, is nothing but a general toleration of all opinions : which motion if it be like to take, it were very requisite, that the City would repair *Paul's* with all the speed they can, for an English *Panttheon*, and bestow it upon the sectaries, freely to assemble in, then there may be some hope that London will be quiet in time. . . .

If all be true we hear, never was any people under the sun so sick of new opinions as Englishmen nor of new fashions as Englishwomen. If God help not the one and the devil leave not helping the other, a blind man may easily foresee what will become of both.

## CONCERNING WOMEN'S FASHIONS.

SHOULD I not keep promise in speaking a little to Women's fashions, they would take it unkindly. I was loath to pester better matter with such stuff; I rather thought it meet to let them stand by themselves, like the *Quæ Genus* in the grammar, being deficient, or redundants, not to be brought under any rule: I shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose-tongued liberty, and misspend a word or two upon their long-waisted, but short-skirted patience: a little use of my stirrup will do no harm. . . .

It is known more than enough, that I am neither niggard, nor cynic, to the due bravery of the true gentry. I honor the woman that can honor herself with her attire; a good text always deserves a fair margent; I am not much offended if I see a trim far trimmer than she that wears it. In a word, whatever christianity or civility will allow, I can afford with London measure: but when I hear a nugiperous gentledame inquire what dress the queen is in this week: what the nudiustertian fashion of the court; I mean the very newest; with egg to be in it in all haste, whatever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cipher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kicked, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honored or humored.

To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive how those women should have any true grace, or valuable vir-

tue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotic garbs, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gant bargeese, ill-shapen-shotten shell-fish, Egyptian hieroglyphics, or at the best into French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English woman should scorn with her heels. It is no marvel they wear drails on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the forepart, but a few squirrels' brains to help them frisk from one ill-favored fashion to another.

These whim Crown'd shes, these fashion-fancying wits,  
Are empty thin brain'd shells, and fiddling Kits.

The very troublers and impoverishers of mankind, I can hardly forbear to commend to the world a saying of a lady living some time with the Queen of Bohemia ; I know not where she found it, but it is pity it should be lost.

The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble,  
Women and care, and care and Women, and Women and care  
and trouble.

The verses are even enough for such odd pegma's. I can make myself sick at any time, with comparing the dazzling splendor wherewith our gentlewomen were embellished in some former habits, with the gut-foundered goosedom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched. We have about five or six of them in our colony : if I see any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanse my fancy of them for a month after. I have been a solitary widower almost twelve years, purposed lately to make a step over to

my native country for a yoke-fellow : but when I consider how women there have tripe-wifed themselves with their cladments, I have no heart to the voyage, lest their nauseous shapes and the sea, should work too sorely upon my stomach. I speak sadly ; methinks it should break the hearts of English men, to see so many goodly English women imprisoned in French cages, peering out of their hood holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and nobody relieves them.

It is a more common than convenient saying, that nine tailors make a man : it were well if nineteen could make a woman to her mind. If tailors were men indeed, well furnished but with mere moral principles, they would disdain to be led about like apes, by such mimic marmosets. It is a most unworthy thing for men that have bones in them, to spend their lives in making fiddle-cases for futilous women's fancies ; which are the very pettitoes of infirmity, the giblets of perquisquilian toys. I am so charitable to think, that most of that mystery would work the cheerfuller while they live, if they might be well discharged of the tiring slavery of mistiring women. It is no little labor to be continually putting up English women, into outlandish casks ; who if they be not shifted anew, once in a few months, grow too sour for their husbands. What this trade will answer for themselves when God shall take measure of tailors' consciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when,

The joining of the Red Rose with the White,  
Did set our State into a Damask plight.

But now our roses are turned to *flore de lices*, our carnations to tulips, our gillyflowers to daisies, our city dames, to an indenominable quæmalry of over-turcused things. He that makes coats for the moon, had need take measures every noon : and he that makes for women, as often, to keep them from lunacy.

I have often heard divers ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearisome varieties and chargeable changes of fashions : I marvel themselves prefer not a bill of redress. I would Essex ladies would lead the chore, for the honor of their county and persons ; or rather the thrice honorable ladies of the court, whom it best beseems : who may well presume of a *Le Roy le veult* from our sober King, a *Les Seigneurs ont assensus* from our prudent peers, and the like *Assensus*, from our considerate, I dare not say wife-worn Commons ; who I believe had much rather pass one such bill, than pay so many tailor's bills as they are forced to do.

Most dear and unparalleled ladies, be pleased to attempt it : as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature ; so assume the honor to give, and not take law from any, in matter of attire. If ye can transact so fair a motion among yourselves unanimously, I dare say, they that most renite, will least repent. What greater honor can your honors desire, than to build a promontory precedent to all foreign ladies, to deserve so eminently at the hands of all the English gentry present and to come : and to confute the opinion of all the wise men in the world ; who never thought it possible for women to do so good a work.

If any man think I have spoken rather merrily than

seriously he is much mistaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more than I ought. I confess I veered my tongue to this kind of language *de industria* though unwillingly, supposing those I speak to are incapable of grave and rational arguments.

I desire all ladies and gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through necessary modesty to avoid morose singularity, follow fashions slowly, a flight shot or two off, showing by their moderation, that they rather draw countermont with their hearts, than put on by their examples.

I point my pen only against the light-heeled beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these ape-headed pullets, which invent antique fool-fangles, merely for fashion and novelty sake.

In a word, if I begin once to declaim against fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is somewhat in the business ; I confess to the world, I never had grace enough to be strict in that kind ; and of late years, I have found syrup of pride very wholesome in a due dose, which makes me keep such store of that drug by me, that if any body comes to me for a question-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard measure, or under weight.

But I address myself to those who can both hear and mend all if they please : I seriously fear, if the pious Parliament do not find time to state fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in some part, God will hardly find a time to state religion or peace. They are the surquedries of pride, the wantonness of idle-

ness, provoking sins, the certain prodromies of assured judgment, Zeph. i. 7, 8.

—It is beyond all account how many gentlemen's and citizens' estates are deplumed by their feather-headed wives, what useful supplies the pannage of England would afford other countries, what rich returns to itself, if it were not sliced out into male and female fripperies : and what a multitude of misemployed hands might be better improved in some more manly manufactures for the public weal. It is not easily credible, what may be said of the preterpluralities of tailors in London : I have heard an honest man say, that not long since there were numbered between Temple-bar and Charing-Cross, eight thousand of that trade ; let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about London, and in all England they will appear to be very numerous. If the Parliament would please to mend women, which their husbands dare not do, there need not so many men to make and mend as there are. I hope the present doleful estate of the realm will persuade more strongly to some considerate course herein than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would speak a word to long hair, whereof I will say no more but this : if God proves not such a Barber to it as he threatens, unless it be amended, Esa. vii. 20, before the peace of the state and church be well settled, then let my prophecy be scorned, as a sound mind scorns the riot of that sin, and more it needs not. If those who are termed rattleheads and impuritans, would take up a resolution to begin in moderation of hair, to the just reproach of those that are called Puritans and

Roundheads, I would honor their manliness as much as the others' godliness, so long as I knew what man or honor meant : if neither can find a barber's shop, let them turn in, to Psal. lxviii. 21, Jer. vii. 29, 1 Cor. xi. 14. If it be thought no wisdom in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the scissiors, let it be thought no injustice in God, not to distinguish them by the sword. I had rather God should know me by my sobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his own sin. A short promise is a far safer guard than a long lock : it is an ill distinction which God is loath to look at, and his angels can not know his saints by. Though it be not the mark of the beast, yet it may be the mark of a beast prepared to slaughter. I am sure men use not to wear such names ; I am also sure soldiers use to wear other marklets or notadoes in time of battle.

#### OF REFORMATION.

WHEN states are so reformed that they conform such as are profligate into good civility ; civil men, into religious morality ; when Churches are so constituted, that Faith is ordained pastor, Truth teacher, Holiness and Righteousness ruling elders ; Wisdom and Charity deacons ; Knowledge, love, hope, zeal, heavenly-mindedness, meekness, patience, watchfulness, humility, diligence, sobriety, modesty, chastity, constancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, sincerity, etc., admitted members, and all their opposites excluded : then there will be peace of country and conscience.

Did the servants of Christ know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed spirits, under

strict order with loose hearts ; how forms of Religion breed but forms of godliness ; how men by church-discipline learn their church-postures, and there rest : — they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of ordinances. If we mock God in these, He will mock us ; either with defeat of our hopes, or which is worse, when we have what we so much desire, we shall be so much the worse for it. It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands : “ We have the good orders here, but you have the good christians in England.” He that prizes not Old England graces, as much as New-England ordinances, had need go to some other market before he comes hither. In a word, he that is not pastor, teacher, ruler, deacon and brother to himself, and looks not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent ; he may be a zealot in bearing witness to which he likes best, and yet an Iscariot to both, in the witness of his own conscience.

I have upon strict observation seen so much power of godliness and spiritual-mindedness in English christians, living merely upon sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gospel was little more than symptomatical to the state ; such epidemical and lethal formality in other disciplined churches, that I profess in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in secret, to consider what will become of multitudes of my dear countrymen when they shall enjoy what they now covet. Not that good ordinances breed ill consciences, but ill consciences grow stark naught under good ordinances ; insomuch that might I wish an hypocrite the most

perilous place but Hell, I should wish him a membership in a strict Reformed Church : and might I wish a sincere servant of God the greatest grief earth can afford, I should wish him to live with a pure heart, in a church impurely reformed ; yet through the improvement of God's Spirit, that grief may sanctify him for God's service and presence, as much as the means he would have, but cannot.

### A WORD OF IRELAND.

Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath so much as one hair of Christianity or Humanity growing on his Head or Beard, but only of the truculent Cutthroats, and such as shall take up Arms in their Defence.

THESE Irish anciently called Anthropophagi, man-eaters, have a tradition among them, that when the Devil showed our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the Earth and their glory, that he would not show him Ireland, but reserved it for himself ; it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar ; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse the glory of all the rest. He thought it wisdom to keep the Land for a Boggards for his unclean spirits employed in this Hemisphere, and the people, to do his son and heir, I mean the Pope, that service for which Louis the Eleventh kept his Barber Oliver, which makes them so blood-thirsty. They are the very offal of men, dregs of mankind, reproach of Christendom, the bots that crawl on the Beast's tail, I wonder Rome itself is not ashamed of them.

I beg upon my hands and knees that the expedition against them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our soldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to say briefly : Happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us, and cursed be he that shall do that work of the Lord negligently. Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood : yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword stark drunk with Irish blood, that doth not recompense them double for their hellish treachery to the English, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations. Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed, that curseth not them bitterly.

[FROM THE SAME.]

POETRY's a gift wherein but few excell ;  
 He doth very ill that doth not passing well.  
 But he doth passing well that doth his best,  
 And he doth best that passeth all the rest.

## IN PRAISE OF MISTRESS BRADSTREET.

[PREFIXED TO “ *The Tenth Muse.*” 1650.]

MERCURY show'd Apollo, 'Bartas' book,  
 Minerva this, and wish'd him well to look,  
 And tell uprightly, which did which excel :  
 He view'd and view'd, and vow'd he could not tell.  
 They bid him hemisphere his mouldy nose,  
 With 's crack'd leering glasses, for it would pose

The best brains he had in 's old pudding-pan,  
Sex weigh'd, which best, the woman or the man?  
He peer'd, and por'd, and glar'd, and said for wore,  
I'm even as wise now, as I was before.  
They both 'gan laugh, and said, it was no mar'l  
The auth'ress was a right Du Bartas girl.  
Good sooth, quoth the old Don, tell me ye so,  
I muse whither at length these girls will go.  
It half revives my chill frost-bitten blood,  
To see a woman once do aught that's good;  
And chode by Chaucer's boots and Homer's furs,  
Let men look to 't, lest women wear the spurs.

## ANNE BRADSTREET.

ANNE BRADSTREET, the chief poetess of Colonial America, was probably born at Northampton, about 1612, and died in Boston, September 16, 1672. She was a daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, and married the future Governor Bradstreet in 1628. With him she went to New England (1630), and in the intervals of household duties involved in the rearing of eight children, became a devoted author, who won for herself from her compatriots the admiring designation, "The Tenth Muse." Her poems were published under a title which gives a tabular view of their contents, to wit: "The Tenth Muse, lately Sprung up in America, or Several Poems Compiled with Great Variety of Wit and Learning, Full of Delight, Wherein especially is Contained a Complete Discourse and Description of the Four Elements, Constitutions, Ages of Man, Seasons of the Year, together with an exact Epitome of the Four Monarchies, viz., The Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, Roman. Also a Dialogue between Old England and New, concerning the late troubles. With divers other pleasant and serious Poems, By a Gentlewoman in those parts" (London, 1650). A second, this time American, edition appeared at Boston six years after her death, with additions, among which is *Contemplations*, her best poem. Her complete works were edited by

J. H. Ellis (1867), and for the Society of the Duodecimos, 1897, with an introduction by Professor Charles Eliot Norton, one of Mrs. Bradstreet's descendants.

Mrs. Bradstreet's verses are in the main a storehouse of curious information, the most curious thing about them being the admiration they excited. Cotton Mather said they "would outlast the stateliest marble." Other contemporaries "weltered in delight" or were "sunk in a sea of bliss" at their perusal. They were at least the best of her land and generation. They show an indomitable assertion of a woman's right to thought and learning. The *Four Monarchies* is based on Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, but she drew her chief poetic inspiration from Sylvester's translation of the French epic of Creation by Du Bartas. As one of the first American writers to devote herself to literature for its own sake, she deserves an honored place in the history of New England culture. Nor is it certain that her genuine talents have received just recognition from posterity. She is not a Tenth Muse or a Sappho, but her works are no more disappointing than those of belauded contemporary British poetesses like "the Matchless Orinda" (Mrs. Katharine Phillips). It is quite true that much of her poetry is hopelessly ponderous and dull, in the style of her favorite English master, Joshua Sylvester. It is true also that at first she seems to have no eye for the beauties of nature, and that she gives us no entertaining realistic pictures of primitive New England life. But it is equally true that her work shows improvement, that in all probability Spenser became her master instead

of Sylvester, and that in the stanzas entitled, *Contemplations* she showed a feeling both for nature and for style. Her verses to her husband and her children are heartfelt and simple, and her prose *Observations* show her to have been possessed of a mind not lacking in clearness and depth. She tells us plainly that she found the ways of the New World trying to a woman of gentle rearing, and she shows, perhaps unconsciously, that she could not bring herself to contemplate God entirely on his sterner side. In fine, her writings show her to have been a gifted woman, in whom it is quite possible for latter-day readers to take a respectful interest.

## THE PROLOGUE.

To sing of wars, of captains, and of kings,  
Of cities founded, commonwealths begun,  
For my mean pen are too superior things :  
Or how they all, or each, their dates have run,  
Let poets and historians set these forth,  
My obscure lines shall not so dim their worth.

But when my wondering eyes and envious heart  
Great Bartas' sugared lines do but read o'er,  
Fool I do grudge the Muses did not part  
'Twixt him and me that ever fluent store : —  
A Bartas can do what a Bartas will,  
But simple I according to my skill.

From school-boys' tongue no rhetoric we expect,  
Not yet a sweet consort from broken strings,

Nor perfect beauty where 's a main defect :

My foolish, broken, blemished Muse so sings :  
And this to mend, alas, no art is able,  
'Cause nature made it so irreparable.

Nor can I, like that fluent, sweet-tongued Greek  
Who lisped at first, in future time speak plain ;  
By art he gladly found what he did seek —

A full requital of his striving pain ;  
Art can do much, but this maxim 's most sure :  
A weak or wounded brain admits no cure.

I am obnoxious to each carping tongue

Who says my hand a needle better fits ;  
A poet's pen all scorn I should thus wrong ;  
For such despite they cast on female wits ;  
If what I do prove well, it won't advance —  
They 'll say it 's stolen, or else it was by chance.

But sure the antique Greeks were far more mild,  
Else of our sex why feignéd they those nine,  
And Poesy made Calliope's own child ?

So 'mongst the rest they placed the Arts Divine ;  
But this weak knot they will full soon untie —  
The Greeks did naught but play the fools and lie.

Let Greeks be Greeks, and women what they are  
Men have precedency, and still excel,  
It is but vain unjustly to wage war :

Men can do best, and women know it well ;  
Preëminence in all and each is yours —  
Yet grant some small acknowledgment of ours.

And oh, ye high flown quills that soar the skies,  
And ever with your prey still catch your praise,  
If e'er you deign these lowly lines your eyes,  
Give thyme or parsley wreath ; I ask no bays,  
This mean and unrefined ore of mine  
Will make you glistening gold, but more to shine.

## NUMA POMPILIUS.

[FROM "THE FOUR MONARCHIES."]

NUMA Pompilius next chose they king,  
Held for his piety some sacred thing.  
To Janus he that famous temple built,  
Kept shut in peace, set ope when blood was spilt ;  
Religious rites amd customs instituted,  
And priests and flamens likewise he deputed,  
Their augurs strange, their gestures and attire,  
And vestal maids to keep the holy fire.  
The nymph Aegeria this to him told,  
So to delude the people he was bold.  
Forty-three years he ruled with generous praise,  
Accounted for a god in after days.

## OF THE FOUR AGES OF MAN.

Lo, now four other act upon the stage,  
Childhood and Youth, the Manly and Old Age :  
The first son unto phlegm, grandchild to water,  
Unstable, supple, cold and moist 's his nature.  
The second, frolic, claims his pedigree

From blood and air, for hot and moist is he.  
The third of fire and choler is compos'd,  
Vindicative and quarrelsome dispos'd.  
The last of earth and heavy melancholy,  
Solid, hating all lightness and all folly.  
Childhood was cloth'd in white and green to show  
His spring was intermixed with some snow :  
Upon his head nature a garland set  
Of Primrose, Daisy and the Violet.  
Such cold mean flowers the spring puts forth betime,  
Before the sun hath throughly heat the clime.  
His hobby striding did not ride but run,  
And in his hand an hour-glass new begun,  
In danger every moment of a fall,  
And when 't is broke then ends his life and all :  
But if he hold till it have run its last,  
Then may he live out threescore years or past.  
Next Youth came up in gorgeous attire  
(As that fond age doth most of all desire),  
His suit of crimson and his scarf of green,  
His pride in 's countenance was quickly seen ;  
Garland of roses, pinks and gillyflowers  
Seemed on 's head to grow bedew'd with showers.  
His face as fresh as is Aurora fair,  
When blushing she first 'gins to light the air.  
No wooden horse, but one of mettle tried,  
He seems to fly or swim, and not to ride.  
Then prancing on the stage, about he wheels,  
But as he went death waited at his heels.  
The next came up in a much graver sort,  
As one that cared for a good report,  
His sword by 's side, and choler in his eyes,  
But neither us'd as yet, for he was wise ;

Of Autumn's fruits a basket on his arm,  
 His golden god in 's purse, which was his charm.  
 And last of all to act upon this stage  
 Leaning upon his staff came up Old Age,  
 Under his arm a sheaf of wheat he bore,  
 An harvest of the best, what needs he more ?  
 In 's other hand a glass ev'n almost run,  
 Thus writ about : " This out, then am I done."

# IN HONOR OF THAT HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS QUEEN ELIZABETH OF HAPPY MEMORY.

## THE PROEM.

ALTHOUGH, great queen, thou now in silence lie,  
 Yet thy loud herald, fame, doth to the sky  
 Thy wondrous worth proclaim in every clime,  
 And so hath vowed while there is world or time.  
 So great 's thy glory and thine excellence  
 The sound thereof rapt every human sense,  
 That men account it no impiety  
 To say thou wert a fleshly deity.  
 Thousands bring offerings, though out of date,  
 Thy world of honors to accumulate ;  
 'Mongst hundred hecatombs of roaring verse,  
 Mine bleating stands before thy royal hearse.  
 Thou never didst nor canst thou now disdain  
 To accept the tribute of a loyal brain :  
 Thy clemency did erst esteem as much  
 The acclamations of the poor as rich,  
 Which makes me deem my rudeness is no wrong,  
 Though I resound thy praises 'mongst the throng.

## THE POEM.

No phenix pen, nor Spenser's poetry,  
 No[r] Speed's nor Camden's learned history,  
 Eliza's works, wars, praise, can e'er compact;  
 The world's the theatre where she did act.  
 No memories nor volumes can contain  
 The eleven olympiads of her happy reign,  
 Who was so good, so just, so learned, so wise,  
 From all the kings on earth she won the prize.  
 Nor say I more than duly is her due;  
 Millions will testify that this is true.  
 She hath wiped off the aspersion of her sex,  
 That women wisdom lack to play the rex.

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*

## A LOVE-LETTER TO HER HUSBAND.

[FROM THE EDITION OF 1678.]

PHŒBUS make haste, the day 's too long, begone,  
 The silent night 's the fittest time for moan;  
 But stay this once, unto my suit give ear,  
 And tell my griefs in either Hemisphere:  
 (And if the whirling of thy wheels don't drown'd  
 The woful accents of my doleful sound),  
 If in thy swift career thou canst make stay,  
 I crave this boon, this errand by the way:  
 Commend me to the man more lov'd than life,  
 Show him the sorrows of his widow'd wife,  
 My dumpish thoughts, my groans, my brackish tears,  
 My sobs, my longing hopes, my doubting fears,  
 And, if he love, how can he there abide?

My interest 's more than all the world beside.  
He that can tell the stars or Ocean sand,  
Or all the grass that in the meads do stand,  
The leaves in th' woods, the hail or drops of rain,  
Or in a cornfield number every grain,  
Or every mote that in the sunshine hops,  
May count my sighs and number all my drops.  
Tell him, the countless steps that thou dost trace,  
That once a day thy spouse thou mayst embrace ;  
And when thou canst not treat by loving mouth,  
Thy rays afar, salute her from the south.  
But for one month I see no day (poor soul)  
Like those far situate under the pole,  
Which day by day long wait for thy arise,  
O how they joy when thou dost light the skies.  
O Phœbus, hadst thou but thus long from thine  
Restrain'd the beams of thy beloved shine,  
At thy return, if so thou couldst or durst,  
Behold a Chaos blacker than the first.  
Tell him here 's worse than a confused matter,  
His little world 's a fathom under water,  
Naught but the fervor of his ardent beams  
Hath power to dry the torrent of these streams.  
Tell him I would say more, but cannot well,  
Opressed minds abruptest tales do tell.  
Now post with double speed, mark what I say,  
By all our loves conjure him not to stay.

## CONTEMPLATIONS.

[FROM THE EDITION OF 1678.]

SOME time now past in the autumnal tide,  
When Phœbus wanted but one hour to bed,  
The trees all richly clad, yet void of pride,  
Were gilded o'er by his rich golden head.  
Their leaves and fruits seem'd painted, but was true  
Of green, of red, of yellow, mixed hue,  
Rapt were my senses at this delectable view.

I wist not what to wish, yet sure, thought I,  
If so much excellence abide below,  
How excellent is He that dwells on high !  
Whose power and beauty by his works we know ;  
Sure he is goodness, wisdom, glory, light,  
That hath this underworld so richly dight :  
More heaven than earth was here, no winter and no  
night.

Then on a stately oak I cast mine eye,  
Whose ruffling top the clouds seem'd to aspire ;  
How long since thou wast in thine infancy ?  
Thy strength, and stature, more thy years admire ;  
Hath hundred winters past since thou wast born,  
Or thousand since thou brakest thy shell of horn ?  
If so, all these as naught eternity doth scorn.

Then higher on the glistering sun I gaz'd,  
Whose beams was shaded by the leavie tree ;  
The more I look'd, the more I grew amaz'd,  
And softly said, What glory 's like to thee ?

Soul of this world, this universe's eye,  
No wonder, some made thee a deity :  
Had I not better known (alas), the same had I.

Thou as a bridegroom from thy chamber rushes,  
And, as a strong man, joys to run a race ;  
The morn doth usher thee, with smiles and blushes,  
The earth reflects her glances in thy face.  
Birds, insects, animals with vegetive,  
Thy heart from death and dulness doth revive .  
And in the darksome womb of fruitful nature dive.

Thy swift annual, and diurnal course,  
Thy daily straight, and yearly oblique path,  
Thy pleasing fervor, and thy scorching force,  
All mortals here the feeling knowledge hath.  
Thy presence makes it day, thy absence night,  
Quaternal seasons caused by thy might :  
Hail creature, full of sweetness, beauty and delight.

Art thou so full of glory, that no eye  
Hath strength, thy shining rays once to behold ?  
And is thy splendid throne erect so high,  
As to approach it, can no earthly mould ?  
How full of glory then must thy Creator be,  
Who gave this bright light lustre unto thee !  
Admir'd, ador'd forever, be that Majesty.

Silent, alone, where none or saw or heard,  
In pathless paths I led my wandering feet ;  
My humble eyes to lofty skies I reared,  
To sing some song my mazed Muse thought meet.

My great Creator I would magnify  
That nature had thus decked liberally ;  
But ah, and ah again, my imbecillity !

I heard the merry grasshopper then sing,  
The black-clad cricket bear a second part,  
They kept one tune, and played on the same string,  
Seeming to glory in their little art.  
Shall creatures abject thus their voices raise ?  
And in their kind resound their Maker's praise :  
Whilst I, as mute, can warble forth no higher lays.

\* \* \* \* \*

When I behold the heavens as in their prime,  
And then the earth (though old) still clad in green,  
The stones and trees, insensible of time,  
Nor age nor wrinkle on their front are seen ;  
If winter come, and greenness then do fade,  
A Spring returns, and they more youthful made ;  
But Man grows old, lies down, remains where once  
he 's laid.

By birth more noble than those creatures all,  
Yet seems by nature and by custom curs'd,  
No sooner born, but grief and care makes fall  
That state obliterate he had at first :  
Nor youth, nor strength, nor wisdom spring again,  
Nor habitations long their names retain,  
But in oblivion to the final day remain.

Shall I then praise the heavens, the trees, the earth,  
Because their beauty and their strength last longer ?  
Shall I wish there or never to had birth,  
Because they 're bigger and their bodies stronger ?

Nay, they shall darken, perish, fade, and die,  
 And when unmade so ever shall they lie ;  
 But man was made for endless immortality.

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*

The mariner that on smooth waves doth glide  
 Sings merrily, and steers his bark with ease,  
 As if he had command of wind and tide,  
 And now become great master of the seas ;  
 But suddenly a storm spoils all the sport,  
 And makes him long for a more quiet port,  
 Which 'gainst all adverse winds may serve for fort.

So he that faileth in this world of pleasure,  
 Feeding on sweets, that never bit of the sour,  
 That 's full of friends, of honor, and of treasure,  
 Fond fool, he takes this earth e'en for heaven's bower.  
 But sad affliction comes, and makes him see  
 Here 's neither honor, wealth, nor safety ;  
 Only above is found all with security.

O Time, the fatal wrack of mortal things,  
 That draws oblivion's curtains over kings,  
 Their sumptuous monuments, men know them not,  
 Their names without a record are forgot,  
 Their parts, their ports, their pomp 's all laid in th'  
 dust,  
 Nor wit nor gold, nor buildings 'scape time's rust ;  
 But he whose name is grav'd in the white stone  
 Shall last and shine when all of these are gone.

## THE AUTHOR TO HER BOOK.

THOU ill-formed offspring of my feeble brain,  
Who after birth didst by my side remain  
Till snatched from thence by friends less wise than true  
Who thee abroad exposed to public view,  
Made thee, in rags, halting, to the press to trudge,  
Where errors were not lessened, all may judge,  
At thy return my blushing was not small,  
My rambling brat — in print — should mother call.  
I cast thee by as one unfit for light,  
Thy visage was so irksome in my sight ;  
Yet being mine own, at length affection would  
Thy blemishes amend, if so I could.  
I washed thy face, but more defects I saw,  
And rubbing off a spot still made a flaw.  
I stretched thy joints to make thee even feet,  
Yet still thou run'st more hobbling than is meet.  
In better dress to trim thee was my mind,  
But naught save homespun cloth i' th' house I find.  
In this array 'mongst vulgars mayst thou roam,  
In critics' hands beware thou dost not come,  
And take thy way where yet thou art not known.  
If for thy father asked, say thou hadst none ;  
And for thy mother, she, alas, is poor,  
Which caused her thus to send thee out of door.

[FROM "PROSE AND VERSE," ADDRESSED "TO MY  
DEAR CHILDREN." FIRST PRINTED IN 1867.]

In a long fit of sickness which I had on my bed I often communed with my heart, and made my sup-

plication to the Most High, who set me free from that affliction.

But as I grew up to be about fourteen or fifteen I found my heart more carnal, and, sitting loose from God, vanity and the follies of youth take hold of me.

About sixteen the Lord laid his hand sore upon me and smote me with the small-pox. When I was in my affliction, I besought the Lord, and confessed my pride and vanity, and he was entreated of me and again restored me. But I rendered not to him according to the benefit received.

After a short time I changed my condition and was married, and came into this country, where I found a new world and new manners, at which my heart rose. But after I was convinced it was the way of God, I submitted to it and was joined to the church at Boston.

# FOR THE RESTORATION OF MY DEAR HUSBAND FROM A BURNING AGUE, JUNE, 1661.

[FROM THE SAME.]

WHEN fears and sorrows me beset,  
Then didst thou rid me out ;  
When heart did faint and spirits quail,  
Thou comforts me about.

Thou rais'st him up I feared to losé,  
Regav'st me him again ;  
Distempers thou didst chase away,  
With strength didst him sustain.

My thankful heart, with pen record  
 The goodness of thy God :  
 Let thy obedience testify  
 He taught thee by his rod,

And with his staff did thee support,  
 That thou by both mayst learn,  
 And 'twixt the good and evil way  
 At last thou might'st discern.

Praises to him who hath not left  
 My soul as destitute,  
 Nor turned his ear away from me,  
 But granted hath my suit.

## MEDITATIONS DIVINE AND MORAL.

[FIRST PRINTED IN 1867.]

IV. A SHIP that bears much sail, and little or no ballast, is easily overset ; and that man, whose head hath great abilities, and his heart little or no grace, is in danger of foundering. . . .

X. Diverse children have their different natures : some are like flesh which nothing but salt will keep from putrefaction ; some again like tender fruits that are best preserved with sugar. Those parents are wise that can fit their nurture according to their nature. . . .

LXVIII. The gifts that God bestows on the sons of men, are not only abused, but most commonly employed for a clean contrary end than that which they

were given for ; as health, wealth, and honor, which might be so many steps to draw men to God in consideration of his bounty towards them, but have driven them the further from him, that they are ready to say, We are lords, we will come no more at thee. If outward blessings be not as wings to help us mount upwards, they will certainly prove clogs and weights that will pull us lower downward.









